DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 155 110 SO 010 942

AUTHOR	Matley, Ian M.
TITLE	The Geography of International Tourism. Resource Paper No. 76-1.
INSTITUTION	Association of American Geographers, Washington, D.C.
SPONS AGENCY	National Science Foundation, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	76
NOTE	51p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Association of American Geographers, 1710 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009 ($2.50, paper cover, quantity discounts available)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 Plus Postage. HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Bibliographies; Cultural Factors; Economic Factors; Foreign Countries; Geographic Distribution; Geographic Location; Geographic Regions; *Geography; *Global Approach; Higher Education; Industry; *International Relations; Recreational Activities; Resource Materials; Study Abroad; *Tourism; Travel; Trend Analysis

ABSTRACT

The intention of this resource paper is to give an overview of the field of the geography of international tourism and to indicate specific topics within the field which offer possibilities for more specialized study by geographers. It is most appropriate for use at the college level. Section one defines international tourism and identifies international, national, and regional organizations which promote and study tourism. International tourism involves movement of persons across international boundaries for purposes of recreation, business, education, or family reasons. Section two identifies literature about international tourism, much of which is by European geographers. These sources analyze spatial and locational factors affecting tourism, such as modes of transportation and world patterns of tourist movements. Section three considers advantages and disadvantages of tourism on regional economy. Section four reviews the types of geographical studies which have been made about international tourism. Section five describes physical and cultural factors that influence the location of tourism. Among these are coastal and mountain areas, landscape attractions, hunting and fishing opportunities, urban or rural historical attractions, and sporting events. Section six explores the possibilities of international tourism as an applied field for geographers. A bibliography of 86 sources, many in foreign languages, concludes the document. (AV)

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THE GEOGRAPHY OF INTERNATIONAL TOURISM

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SP010 942

RESOURCE PAPER NO. 76-1

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Association of American Geographers
1710 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 76-18390
ISBN 0-89291-110-7
Supported by the AAG and by a grant from
the National Science Foundation

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FOREWORD

In 1968, the Commission on College Geography of the Association of American Geographers published its first Resource Paper, *Theories of Urban Location*, by Brian J. L. Berry. In 1974, coinciding with the termination of NSF funding for the Commission, Resource Paper number 28 appeared, *The Underdevelopment and Modernization of the Third World*, by Anthony R. deSouza and Philip W. Porter. Of the many CCG activities, the Resource Papers Series became an effective means for permitting both teachers and students to keep abreast of developments in the field.

Because of the popularity and usefulness of the Resource Papers, the AAG applied for and received a modest grant from NSF to continue to produce Resource Papers and to put the series on a self-supporting basis. The present Resource Papers Panel subscribes to the original purposes of the Series, which are quoted below:

> The Resource Papers have been developed as expository documents for the use of both the student and the instructor. They are experimental in that they are designed to supplement existing texts and to fill a gap between significant research in American geography and readily accessible materials. The papers are concerned with important concepts or topics in modern geography and focus on one of three general themes: geographic theory; policy implications; or contemporary social relevance. They are designed to implement a variety of undergraduate college geography courses at the introductory and advanced level.

In an effort to increase the utility of these papers, the Panel has attempted to be particularly sensitive to the currency of materials for undergraduate geography courses and to the writing style of these papers.

The Resource Papers are developed, printed, and distributed under the auspices of the Association of American Geographers, with partial funding from a National Science Foundation grant. The ideas presented in these papers do not imply endorsement by the AAG.

Many individuals have assisted in producing these Resource Papers, and we wish to acknowledge those who assisted the Panel in reviewing the authors' prospectuses, in reading and commenting on the various drafts, and in making helpful suggestions. The Panel also acknowledges the perceptive suggestions and editorial assistance of Jane F. Castner of the AAG Central Office.

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PREFACE

During the last few years American geographers have become increasingly aware of the need to develop those branches of geography which have applied aspects. The growth of interest in applied geography may have resulted from the demand for research and teaching that is relevant to contemporary social and economic problems and from the desire to train more geographers for jobs in the government and in the business world.

Among the branches of applied geography which have seen relatively recent development as academic subjects are the geography of recreation and the geography of tourism. It is, in fact, only during the last two decades that American geographers have shown much interest in tourism as an object of serious study. International tourism has received virtually no attention, largely because of its lack of importance as an earner of foreign currency for the United States. Americans, however, travel abroad in large numbers and the travel agent has been a prominent figure on the U.S. business scene since the end of World War II. It is thus surprising that few American geographers have studied where their compatriots travelled and why. Now that the number of foreign tourists visiting the United States has greatly increased, there is no excuse for American geographers to neglect this important field.

In Europe the subject of international tourism has received much attention from geographers, economists and others, and an extensive literature exists in a variety of languages. Practically all the work in laying the foundations of the geography of international tourism has been carried out by Europeans and much of the basic literature is not available in English. One of the aims of this Resource Paper is to acquaint the student with the fundamentals of the subject as they have been developed by European geographers. This inevitably means that the bibliography will contain many works in languages other than English.

The main aim of this Resource Paper, however, is to introduce the student to an important branch of economic geography which has some practical applications. Too few persons employed in the travel business have even an elementary knowledge of geography and there are considerable potentialities for work in this area by geographers. Apart from travel agencies, there are other organizations, such as the International Union of Official Travel Organizations, the Pacific Area Tourist Association, and the European Travel Commission, that not only promote tourism but also conduct research and publish statistics and monographs. National governments are becoming increasingly active in the planning and organization of their tourist industries, and the airline, bus, and railroad companies have added various services for tourists, such as car rentals, conducted tours, and hotel reservations, to their basic service of moving people from one place to another. The contributions which geographers can make to the activities of the above agencies and organizations is obvious and should increase in the future.

SUGGESTIONS FOR CLASS USE

The intention of this Resource Paper is to give a general overview of the field of the geography of international tourism and at the same time to indicate specific topics and subjects within the field which offer possibilities for more specialized study by geographers. The Resource Paper can thus be used as a general introduction to the field in a course which specifically deals with the subject of international tourism or with the broader fields of tourism and recreation. Students wishing to conduct a more specialized study of one or more aspects of the field should be able to identify the necessary basic literature from references in the text.

As the geography of international tourism forms a branch of the field of economic geography, the Resource Paper can also be used in full or in part as a supplementary reading in a general course on economic geography or in a course on transportation geography.

The geography of international tourism contains a strongly applied element and forms an excellent basis for training persons who wish to seek employment in the tourist industry. The Resource Paper can be used as basic reading in courses on the subject of tourism, even if these courses are not taught by geographers.

There is a wide variety of research topics for the student to investigate. In particular the growing role of the United States and Canada as countries of destination for foreign tourists has received little study, and the changing patterns of American tourism abroad require further investigation. The development of more sophisticated techniques for the measurement and prediction of tourist flows and the establishment of more solid theoretical foundations also form subjects for research.

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I. INTERNATIONAL TOURISM: SOME GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

In recent years people of the developed countries of the world have experienced a veritable revolution in their approach to the use of leisure time. A gradual shortening of the work week and an increase in the length of vacations has given the average citizen more free time for recreation and travel. Equally important has been the increased availability of money to finance more expensive forms of recreation and longer journeys. This increase in leisure time and money is clearly a product of industrialization and it is in the most industrialized and urbanized nations of the world that we should look for the greatest development of recreation and tourism. There is a strong link between urbanization and tourism (Meinke: 1968, p. 23) because many city dwellers like to escape for a time from their artificial, monotonous, and difficult lives, and they have the money to do it (Nice: 1965, p. 251).

The countries of origin of the world flow of tourists are limited to a relatively small group of industrialized nations with a high per capital Gross National Product. Data from 1967 show that 75 percent of all international tourist visits were from twelve countries (USA, West Germany, France, United Kingdom, Canada, Belgium, Netherlands, Italy, Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, and Austria). Forty percent of total tourist arrivals were accounted for by the USA and West Germany alone (Young: 1973, p. 53).

The countries receiving the majority of the world's tourists are more widely distributed than the countries of origin. In 1971 Europe received over 75 percent of the world's tourists, followed by North and South America with 19 percent. The two most popular countries of destination were Canada and Spain, together accounting for about 25 percent of the market (Young: 1973, p. 54). Canada's importance as a tourist country is, of course, because of its proximity to the United States with its large, wealthy, and travel-oriented population. The reasons for Europe's importance requires further investigation. For example, it is clear that because of the large number of contiguous countries in Europe much movement must take place between neighboring countries. However, Spain accounted for 27 percent of tourist arrivals in Europe in 1970, with Italy and France accounting for some 16 percent each. West Germany, which supplied a large number of the world's tourists, received only nine percent of Europe's tourists. In other words, the European countries which generate tourist flows are not the ones which generally receive them. The flow of tourists is basically from the industrialized and urbanized northern countries, with their cool and often rainy summers, to the southern countries with their sunshine and warmth, but with generally less-developed economies.

This general trend in the direction of tourist flows so noticeable in Europe is also observable in other parts of the world. The major concentrations of urban and industrial populations are found in northern and western Europe and in the northern parts of North America. The inhabitants of these northern urban environments generally wish to spend their vacations in a setting different from their own. In particular the warmth of the southern sun is a major attractor of tourism. These conditions are usually most easily found in sparsely populated or less-developed regions or countries. In particular the sun and beaches of the Mediterranean and the Caribbean countries have formed the basis for the development of an important tourist industry. Thus a flow of tourists from the wealthier lands to the poorer has developed.

The flow of tourists has been accompanied by a flow of money. It has brought income and employment to many countries and regions where other resources are scarce and the prospects for increased employment in agriculture or industry poor. Tourism not only provides foreign currency earnings and thus contributes to the balance of payments, but may provide improved amenities for the local population through the development of transportation, hotels, restaurants, and stores to serve the tourists. Tourism may provide an infrastructure which forms a base for the development of a more diversified economy and the growth of other industries (Burkart and Medlik: 1974, p. 63).

Although some of the developed countries of the world, such as France or the United Kingdom, receive considerable financial benefit from tourism, the flow of tourist money to the developing countries has clearly a much greater impact on their economies and a further expansion of tourism in these countries is desirable. Although tourism is not without its problems, in general it can be said that this flow of money from the developed to the developing world is one of the means of at least partially adjusting the balance between the rich and the poor nations and regions of the world. This point should not be overstressed. Although countries like Mexico and Spain receive more than a third of their foreign currency earnings from tourism (some $2 billion annually in the case of Mexico), not many receive more than 10 to 25 percent and it is still necessary for a country to develop a diversified economy based on a more permanent resource than tourism. Tourist flows may change their volume and direction over time, influenced by changing economic, social and political factors. The problems of

tourism in such troubled areas as the Middle East, Cyprus, Portugal, and Southeast Asia are a case in point. The decision of Mexico in 1975 to vote for the motion in the United Nations condemning Zionism as a form of racism cost the country many visitors from the United States and an estimated $9 million in revenue from tourism during the winter of 1975-76.

Problems of Defining International Tourism

A distinction should be made here between the concepts of recreation and tourism. Recreation does not necessarily imply travel. A game of tennis or a stroll in a neighborhood park constitutes recreation, but the distance travelled to the location where these acts take place may be minimal. Much outdoor recreation, such as sports of various types, or indoor recreation, such as visits to theaters, cinemas, and clubs may be local in nature. The participant does not travel far and does not leave his home for any lengthy period

Tourism in all cases involves two elements, a dynamic one—the journey—and a static one—the stay (Burkart and Medlik: 1974, p. 39). This implies the removal of a person away from his habitual place of residence and his stay in another location. This stay or removal is temporary and is motivated by a search for personal pleasure in the shape of rest, relaxation, and self improvement (Ginier: 1969, p. 26). The tourist industry is thus an industry concerned with movement (Peters: 1969, p. 2). However, it is clear from the above criteria that all movement does not constitute tourism. Anyone taking up permanent residence or paid employment in another town or country is not a tourist but a migrant. Seasonal or migrant labor is also clearly distinguished from tourism (Burkart and Medlik: 1974, p. 40).

Tourism thus contains elements of recreation and of travel, and forms part of the wider fields of recreation and leisure. For the government official or research worker the understanding of the concept of tourism is only the beginning of the problem of defining who is a tourist out of the large number of persons who travel and who avail themselves of a variety of recreational facilities. For example, is a businessman who travels abroad and stays in a hotel a tourist? If not, how do you distinguish him from the "pure" tourist? Are the contestants in an international professional sports event tourists? These and similar questions have to be answered by official definitions of tourism for statistical and other government and business purposes.

A technical definition of tourism involves three elements. First it must be made clear if, for example, travel for business, educational or family reasons counts as tourism. In other words the purpose of the travel must be clarified. Second, the length of stay at the destination must be defined in terms of minimum and maximum periods. Third, the definition must include particular cases, such as transit traffic and sea cruises (Burkart and Medlik: 1974, pp. 40-41).

A distinction has also to be made between domestic tourism and international tourism. This is relatively easy as domestic tourism is confined to persons moving around within their own country, whereas international tourism involves the movement of persons across international boundaries. As we are interested here primarily with international tourism we shall only consider definitions which apply to that branch of the industry.

One definition of a foreign tourist which avoids some major problems identifies him or her as a visitor who habitually lives in another country and comes to a particular country for a short time, whether for recreation or not, and spends money there (Ginier: 1969, p. 27). This definition thus includes businessmen, government officials, sportsmen, and others and avoids the problem of defining the purpose of the journey. However, it does not define what is meant by "a short time." The simple, but effective definition of a foreign tourist put forward by the League of Nations in 1937 as a person who visits a country other than that in which he habitually lives for a period of at least 24 hours has been accepted as the basis for later definitions (OECD: 1974, p. 7). According to this definition persons who travel for scientific, diplomatic, business, and other reasons, are considered "tourists," as well as persons on sea cruises, even if they stay for less than 24 hours. Other persons who stay in another country for less than 24 hours are "excursionists." In 1963 the United Nations Conference on Travel and Tourism in Rome produced a definition of a "visitor" as someone who visits a country other than that in which he usually resides for purposes other than that of earning money. "Visitors" are subdivided into "tourists" and "excursionists." A "tourist" is a temporary visitor who stays at least 24 hours in another country for recreation, health, study, religion, or sport, in other words for leisure purposes, or for business, meeting, or family purposes. An "excursionist" stays for less than 24 hours and includes persons on cruises. Travellers who do not legally enter the country, e.g., those who wait in an airport transit area without leaving it, are not included in the above categories of "visitors" (United Nations: 1963, p. 5). The United Nations definition has received international recognition as the basis for statistical reporting of the numbers of foreign tourists and others visiting a country. In 1967 the United Nations Statistical Commission modified this definition slightly by suggesting that those visitors who do not stay overnight in a country should be classified as "excursionists" or "day visitors" (OECD: 1974, p. 8). The presence or absence of an overnight stay in the country visited is thus a major criterion in this definition. In 1968 the International Union of Official Travel Organizations approved the United Nations 1963 definition and adopted the idea that "visitors" should be divided into "tourists" who make at least one overnight stay and "excursionists" who do not stay overnight in the country they are visiting (Burkart and Medlik: 1974, p. 94). This definition has practical value as data on the number of persons using overnight accommodations are sometimes the basic source of information on the number of tourists visiting a country, especially if recording tourists at the frontier is not undertaken.

The Organization of International Tourism

Organizations with the aim of promoting and regulating tourism, collecting data and conducting research on tourist movements and flows, and planning tourist

facilities, exist at the international, national, and regional levels.

At the international level the most important organization is the International Union of Official Travel Organizations (IUOTO), located in Geneva, Switzerland. Its members consist of the national tourist organizations of many countries. It is not a governmental organization, although it acts in a consultative capacity to the United Nations. Its main aims are to promote international tourism, to develop cooperation between countries, and to facilitate the movement of tourists between countries. IUOTO also has the more idealistic aims of promoting the contribution of tourism to world peace, health and prosperity, raising the standard of living in the developing world by means of tourism, and bettering the conditions of country dwellers. It is the central authority in the world for regulating international tourism, and it aids in the settlement of disputes between countries on technical matters. IUOTO conducts research, publishes literature of various types on the subject of tourism, and runs a documentation center. It also provides help to developing countries with technical problems in developing and promoting their tourist facilities. It organizes regional commissions and occasional seminars and meetings.

A second important international organization is the Tourist Committee of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). This committee forms part of the larger organization of the OECD and consists of officials representing 23 Western nations, including the United States and Canada. OECD is located in Paris and publishes annual reports on the development of various sectors of the economies of the member countries. The Tourist Committee issues an annual review of tourism in the member countries which covers such subjects as the development of tourist traffic between countries; their share in world tourism; East-West tourist flows; tourist receipts and expenditures; government policy, such as visa requirements, customs regulations, currency allowances; transport; and tourist accommodation. Statistics on these and other subjects are also compiled and published.

Apart from these two organizations which are devoted specifically to the promotion of tourism, there are several international organizations involved with regulating various forms of transport, thus having some influence on the development of tourism. The International Air Transport Association (IATA), which determines fares and rates for the international movement of passengers and goods, and the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), which develops standards for air navigation and promotes safety and efficiency in aircraft, airfields and other equipment and facilities, are the two major organizations regulating air transport. Sea transport is controlled by the Trans-Atlantic and Trans-Pacific Passenger Steamship Conferences. In 1922 the European railroads formed the Union Internationale des Chemins de Fer (UIC) or the International Union of Railways, which was enlarged after World War II. Its aim is to improve international services and to develop regulations for facilitating international traffic. In 1949 the UIC developed an Office for Research and Experiments. However, all these organizations have interests and aims which go beyond the organization and promotion of tourism and we shall not consider them further.

II. THE GEOGRAPHY OF INTERNATIONAL TOURISM

That international tourism forms a distinct and separate branch of the larger field of recreation is important to understanding the geography of international tourism and its place within the larger framework of economic geography.

Even a cursory examination of the literature in the fields of recreation and tourist geography reveals some obvious differences between studies in the geography of recreation and in the geography of international tourism. Studies in recreational geography are concerned mainly with such topics as recreational land use and planning, the development of national and state parks and other public lands, estimates of carrying capacity, the development and location of vacation cottages, and planning of winter sports facilities. Studies of urban recreation, including public parks and other facilities, are also being advocated (Mitchell: 1969, p. 118). Studies of international tourism on the other hand have been concerned mainly with the volume and direction of tourist flows, transportation, the development and location of resorts and hotels, as well as with the impact of tourism on national and local economies, and on the landscape. The geography of international tourism is thus concerned primarily with movement and secondarily with the facilities developed to house and entertain the tourist during his stay abroad. The geography of recreation casts a wider net and studies the development and location of all types of recreational facilities, whether they serve a local, regional, national, or international clientele. The movement of tourists over national boundaries is of secondary interest to the recreational geographer, who may be more interested in local traffic flows. The study of tourist movements of all types over shorter or longer distances is more specifically within the domain of the geography of tourism, which thus is more general in character than the geography of international tourism. However, geographers working in fields such as recreation, tourism, or international tourism may have some overlapping interests; certain facilities, such as ski resorts or bathing beaches, may be used by both local people and tourists from other parts of the country, as well as by foreigners.

The geography of international tourism is thus best regarded as a branch of the geography of tourism, which in turn forms part of the field of the geography of recreation. All are branches of economic geography (Figure 1). Although the study of recreation involves the consideration of physical, cultural, and social factors, its main focus is on the economic aspects of the subject. The geography of international tourism studies an important economic phenomenon of significance both to government and to private business. Its concern with movement also links it with the geography of transportation.

The Literature of the Geography of International Tourism

One of the most characteristic features of the development of the geography of international tourism has been that it has rested almost exclusively in the hands of European geographers. As a result, most of the literature on the subject appears in European languages other than English. Although British geographers have been more active in the field than North American geographers, nevertheless it is no exaggeration to say that over three-quarters of the significant publications in the field are in German, French, Italian, Russian, and East European languages. The English-speaking geographer who intends to work effectively on the geography of international tourism must be aware of some of the concepts already developed by his European counterparts to avoid duplicating work already done and, more important, to benefit from the several decades of significant contributions to the field already in the literature.

If this idea bothers the person with no knowledge or interest in foreign languages, it should be some consolation that the literature dealing with basic concepts is limited and to some extent repetitive. There has been little development of theory in comparison with other branches of economic geography. A large part of the literature deals with the development of tourism in specific countries and regions. Some regional studies involve important or useful techniques and approaches, but many of them are of interest primarily at a national, regional or local level and have little significance for the field as a whole.

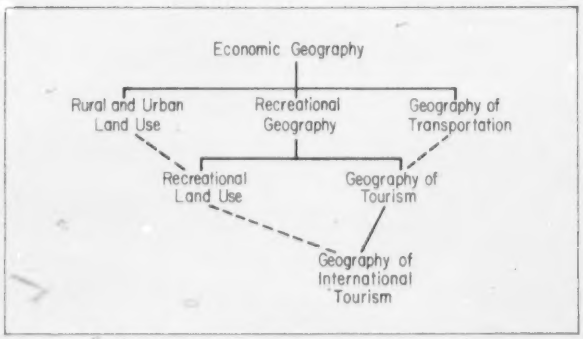

Figure 1. The Place of the Geography of International Tourism in the Field of Economic Geography.

That European geographers have produced the bulk of the literature in the field of the geography of international tourism is not surprising when one considers the history of travel on their continent, with its large number of countries and frontiers. Apart from a long period of experience in tourism, the virtual explosion of mass tourist travel since World War II has alerted the Europeans to the economic importance and potentials for expansion of the tourist trade. Economists have been in the vanguard of those active in the study and planning of tourism but many geographers have now joined their ranks. Although many of these economists and geographers have been interested exclusively in the development of tourism in their homelands, some have directed their attention to the developing world. In particular, some work has been done by Europeans in the areas of their present and former colonies. For example, the French have contributed much to the development of tourism in areas of French influence, such as Tahiti, Martinique, Guadeloupe, Morocco, and Senegal.

The Geographical Analysis of Tourism

The subject of tourism lends itself ideally to geographical analysis. There is scarcely an aspect of tourism which does not have some geographical implications and there are few branches of geography which do not have some contribution to make to the study of the phenomenon of tourism. The great importance of the physical environment, especially the elements of climate, terrain, landscape and water, to the development of tourism hardly needs to be stressed, and physical geographers have much to contribute in this area of study and planning. Economic geographers have much to say about locational factors of tourist facilities regarding movements of people, transportation routes and other aspects of spatial organization, and the urban geographer will find much of interest in the relatively virgin field of urban and resort tourism (Stanfield: 1971, pp. 164-66). The cultural geographer also has much to contribute to analyzing the historical and cultural attractions of urban centers, as well as to assessing the importance of historical, ethnic, and religious factors in the location of tourist attractions.

One of the most comprehensive reviews of the various components of the geography of tourism has been made by Christaller. He considers the study of tourism as that part of economic geography which views a segment of the economy that avoids central places and urban agglomerations and is located on the periphery of settlement (Christaller: 1955, p.2). He distinguishes the major factors which influence the location of tourist activity as (1) climate, (2) landscape, (3) possibilities for sport, (4) the sea coast, (5) spas and *Kurorte*, (6) art, antiquities, and old cities, (7) historical monuments and places, (8) folklore and festivals, (9) cultural events, such as musical or theatrical festivals, (10) economic establishments, such as harbors and airports, (11) traffic centers, and (12) central places (Christaller: 1955, pp. 2-3). Although Christaller's list includes central places and urban areas as locations of tourist activity, he still sees the main development of tourism as taking place on the periphery of settlement.[1]

Other writers have referred to most of the locational factors given on this list, in some cases stressing one factor more than others. For example, Peters gives a list which differs from Christaller's only in detail, but which stresses cultural attractions (1969, pp. 148-50). Sládek gives particular attention to factors in the physical environment which not only attract but also repel tourists. In the latter category he includes regions with an unsuitable climate, areas of flat terrain without forest cover, areas of intensive agricultural use, industrial areas, areas with a polluted atmosphere, and areas such as frontier zones or terrain used for military training (1966, p. 26). Ritter discusses in detail the various types of tourist regions, which he classifies mainly in terms of their physical environment. He also devotes considerable space to a consideration of the role of landscape and climate as potential attractors of tourism in Europe (1966, pp. 67-74, 111-36).

Many of the elements of the geography of tourism mentioned above were already recognized some years ago. Work on the development of tourist geography in particular had begun in Germany in the 1930's and reached a high level in the work of Poser (1939). He recognized five varieties of tourism in the Riesengebirge, namely, (1) spas, (2) summer climate, (3) winter sports, (4) hiking, and (5) transit tourism (1939, p. 14). He examined the spatial distribution of these forms of tourism, their history, and the numbers of persons involved in each type. He recognized such locational factors as the physical features of the landscape, including the suitability of the terrain for winter sports, the climate, including length and intensity of sunshine, cloud cover, mist, rainfall, and snow depth, as well as cultural and economic features, such as types of settlement, location of resorts, house types, and accommodation capacity (1939, pp. 49-73).

Despite this early recognition of some of the basic components of the geography of tourism it is nevertheless true that most of the work done by geographers in developing the field has taken place since World War II. This reflects the recent growth of the tourist industry rather than any increase in the ability or level of sophistication of geographers.

The list of major factors influencing the location of tourist activities given by Christaller forms a good basis for identifying and classifying the main elements of international tourism. The subject can best be divided into the two major parts: 1) the study of the elements of the physical and cultural landscape and other factors which attract tourists to a particular country and 2) the forms of transportation used by tourists and the direction of international tourist flows. These two directions of study cover the static and dynamic aspects of tourism contained in the basic definition discussed above. However, the geographer is also interested in problems of locating tourist facilities, of the impact of tourism on a given

[1] Christaller further amplified his views on the geography of tourism in Christaller: 1964.

place or region, and of applying geographical techniques to the study of tourism.

Spatial and Locational Factors

The movement of persons from one location to another forms the most important element of the phenomenon of international tourism. Spatial and locational factors thus play a large part in explaining the development of tourist movements and flows. The geographer, with his interest and training in spatial and locational analysis, is well suited to study these aspects of tourism.

The elements of spatial movement in tourism can be divided into two major categories for study and analysis. The first is the element of accessibility. Places or regions which offer certain attractions for the tourist are not always equally accessible. Accessibility is, in fact, a question of available forms of transportation and the existence of transportation routes. The second major area of spatial analysis involves the pattern of existing tourist flows at different scales, from world-wide to local, in terms of their intensity, direction, and points of origin and destination.

Modes of Transportation

For a particular place or region to have physical or cultural features attractive to tourists is not sufficient to ensure that tourists will come in any numbers. Many places do not attract tourists because of their location, lack of efficient transportation facilities, conflicts with other forms of land use, or lack of suitable accommodations and other tourist facilities. The problem of access is particularly important in areas which are remote from major urban centers and in mountain regions. For example, regions such as Lapland or the Turkish coast still lie far from major tourist routes, and the mountains of central Yugoslavia or northwestern Scotland lack good transport facilities.

Air Transportation

The problem of access has been solved in many cases by the development of air transportation, which has helped to open up regions previously out of reach for most tourists. Without air transportation, safaris in East Africa, resorts in North Africa or on the Canary Islands, and winter sports in the Rocky Mountains would attract few customers. In particular, the growth of the group charter flight has made it economically possible for larger numbers of people to travel farther for their vacations. The development of the jumbo jet has increased the size of a group that can be moved at one time, but the use of these large aircraft is limited by the length of runways and the size of facilities at some airports. Many resorts are, however, developing quite substantial airports specializing in the handling of summer visitors, such as those at Palma de Mallorca (Majorca Island) or Mamaia (Romania).

Rail Transportation

In spite of the growth of air transportation there are still many tourists who can only afford or prefer to travel by land or sea. Before World War II the railroads handled most of Europe's tourist traffic. However, even in the 1930's the age of the luxury long-distance express was coming to an end. In 1872 a Belgian businessman, M. Nagelmackers, had adopted the idea of sleeping cars and restaurant cars from the United States and started the famous *Compagnie Internationale des Wagons-Lits et des Grands Express Européens*. Before World War I the company ran the Trans-Siberian Express, the Nord-Express from St. Petersburg to the French Riviera (a favorite resort area for the Russian aristocracy), the Orient Express from Calais to the Balkans and Istanbul, and the Blue Train, the all-sleeper express from Paris to the Riviera. By World War II several of these trains had either ceased to run or were catering to a new middle-class tourist who could not afford the fares of the old luxury expresses. For these travellers more second-class coaches were added and a simpler and cheaper type of sleeping berth developed. After the war "democratization" went even further, with the introduction of the cheap "couchette" and the cafeteria or snack-bar attached to the restaurant car. The Wagons-Lits Company is, however, selling off its equipment to an intergovernmental organization, which in this day of state-owned railroads, will manage the international trains of the future.

Although the luxury express in its classic form may have vanished, the long-distance train in Europe is by no means dead. A series of trains link Channel ports, such as Calais, Ostend, and Hoek van Holland with all parts of Europe, and since 1957 most major cities have been linked by forty "Trans-Europe" expresses. Some of these trains such as the "Mistral" from Paris to Nice, offer modern luxuries such as a boutique, a barber shop, hostesses, and stenographic services. The "Aquitaine" covers the Paris-Bordeaux journey in four hours, averaging ninety miles per hour. Some trains have cars attached for transporting the automobiles of persons who wish to avoid a long drive on overcrowded highways. These "auto-couchette" trains are popular with tourists from northern Europe to southern Spain and have recently been introduced in the United States between Washington, D.C. and Florida. In Europe the railroads have been able to compete effectively with the airlines because of the relatively short distances between large cities and countries and the high cost of flying. Train journeys are quicker and considerably cheaper than flying for distances up to three hundred miles and the development of trains with speeds over 150 m.p.h. will make them even more competitive. Large numbers of tourists still travel by train in the summer months from the industrial regions of the northern Europe to the Mediterranean and in the winter to the skiing resorts of the Alps. In the winter in particular, when travel by car is hazardous because of weather conditions, special ski trains are run, which not only provide sleeping facilities and food for the passengers but also baggage cars for ski equipment and personnel to help with children.

In the Soviet Union the Trans-Siberian railroad has recently begun to cater to an international clientele. It is possible for a traveller to take the train from Moscow to the Pacific port of Nakhodka and then a Soviet ship to Yokohama in Japan or to Hong Kong via Naha on Okinawa. The seven-day train journey can be shortened by covering part of the route by plane. This route is less expensive than flying the whole distance by an international airline and is becoming popular with Japanese tourists en route to Europe.

The train is particularly suitable for the "urban" tourist, who in most cases can arrive by train right in the center of a city, convenient to hotels and restaurants. Many European stations have large railroad hotels which in many cases have seen better days. Their place is now often taken either by the airport hotel, a more modern hotel in the downtown area, or a motel on the city outskirts. Because of the traffic congestion on the streets of many European cities which makes driving and parking difficult, and because of the distance of many airports from the city center, the railroad is still holding its own as a means of transport between major cities. Nevertheless, most European railroad companies have had to curtail and streamline their services in recent years because of revenue losses as private automobile use for travel increases. The situation is not yet so serious for the European railroads as it is for those in the United States.

The creation of the Amtrak organization in the United States, aimed at streamlining and coordinating railroad passenger services between major cities, may help to revive the railroad for tourist transportation. Railroads in the West have had more success in attracting passengers than those in the East, mainly because of the scenic attractions of crossing the Rocky Mountains in the special observation cars provided on the trains and also partly because of advertising and a greater desire to carry passengers than is true for most Eastern railroad companies. Carrying passengers has not been profitable and most American railroads would rather carry freight. Canadian railroads have catered to the traveller to a greater extent than in the United States, but passenger trains in Canada have been run with a government subsidy. It can be said that in general, even in Europe, the railroad must receive some sort of state support if it is to compete successfully with other forms of passenger transportation.

Before leaving the subject of rail travel, one should mention the great importance of railroad transportation in India for the mass of pilgrims who constantly visit places of pilgrimage connected with the religions of India. In particular the pilgrimage to Banaras on the Ganges by the Hindu faithful strains the resources of India's railroads to the limit.

Automobile Transportation

The automobile has come into its own on both sides of the Atlantic as the most important form of tourist transportation. The development of the four-lane highway has been perhaps the single greatest development in recent years in automobile tourism, enabling the toursit to cover long distances at speeds approaching those of trains. In Europe, for example, it is now possible to drive on modern four-lane highways all the way from northern Germany to Sicily. Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands in particular have developed networks of modern highways while France, Belgium, and Spain have been slower in investing in highway development. However, in the next few decades Europe should have a network of modern international highways to rival that of the United States.

Along with the development of highways, motels, service stations, and roadside restaurants have grown, but again, some countries have been more active in this field than others. In France, for example, it is still difficult for the tourist to find roadside accommodations, especially during the height of the tourist season. This lack of accommodations and their generally high cost, especially for a family, help to explain the remarkable growth of camping in Europe. Granted that many people like the outdoor aspects of camping, many others are willing to put up with its discomforts if they can avoid the frustrating search for accommodations while on the road, often ending in the payment of high prices. Most campsites are organized and controlled by local authorities and usually include such conveniences as a food store and washing facilities. This type of camping must be contrasted with that of hikers and climbers in wilderness areas, who are generally seeking scenery and solitude. The typical tourist campsite offers little privacy or solitude and may be located on the edge of a city and not necessarily in an area of picturesque scenery. Its aim is to provide cheap accommodations and some camps are geared to the transit tourist rather than to the individual who wishes to spend a longer time in the area. In the Mediterranean or other sunnier regions of southern Europe camps generally serve tourists who intend to make them the center for their vacation. These camps should not be confused with the villages of the Club Mediterranée, which do not cater to the casual tourist.

The reason for the great popularity of the automobile for tourist transportation lies not only in the flexibility it gives the traveller in choosing where and when he goes or stops but also in its relative cheapness for moving a family with baggage, including perhaps tents and cooking gear. The average traveller by car tends to balance the costs of gasoline, food, and accommodations en route with the costs of rail or air tickets for the family, and in most cases the automobile wins. Even if a sea crossing is involved, the convenience and cheapness of taking one's car makes it attractive in many cases to use one of the many car-ferries found in Europe. The most important car-ferries in terms of passengers and cars moved are the well-appointed ships linking Britain and continental Europe. Car-ferries run from Dover to Calais, Boulogne and Ostend, from Newhaven to Dieppe, from Southampton to Le Havre, and from Harwich to Hoek van Holland and Esbjerg. Others link ports in northern England with Holland and Norway. Cars can also be ferried by air from Southend-on-Sea and Lydd on the southeast coast of England to various places in France, Belgium and Holland. In the Baltic region, car-ferries link Trelleborg in Sweden with Sass-

nitz in East Germany and Stockholm with Helsinki. The Mediterranean has, however, seen the greatest recent growth in car-ferry services. Several ferries link Spain with the Balearic Islands, and the latter are also served by an air-ferry from Nîmes in southern France. Ferries bring tourists and their cars from the French Riviera and northern Italy to Corsica and Nice and from Italy to Sicily, Yugoslavia, and Greece. Although car-ferries in some places in North America, such as the Great Lakes region, carry a substantial traffic, it is mostly of local rather than international significance, and the European car-ferry system is by far the most important in the world in terms of international tourist traffic handled (Figure 2).

Movement of tourists by automobile has also been expedited in recent years by the construction of new bridges and tunnels. The bridge over the Mackinac Straits in Michigan, the various international bridges between the United States and Canada, the Forth road bridge in Scotland, the bridge system connecting the Danish islands, and the new dikes and bridges connecting the islands of Zeeland in the Netherlands, are all of great significance in improving access to certain regions or speeding the journeys of travellers. For example, the new routes created by the dikes and bridges of the Delta Plan have opened up previously remote islands, such as Walcheren and Noordbeveland, to tourists from the Rotterdam area and beyond. Movement through the Alps has been speeded by the construction of new tunnels, such as the Mont Blanc tunnel between Chamonix in France and Courmayeur in Italy. A new highway on the Italian side has greatly assisted in opening up the Val d'Aosta for tourists from the French side of the Alps and has enabled Courmayeur to develop as a winter-sports center.

In the period immediately following World War II, when ownership of private cars was not widespread in Europe, many persons went on vacation by bus. A large number of companies arose offering anything from one- or two-day trips to two-week vacations, including accommodations and meals en route. Although the rise of tourism by private car has reduced the volume of tourism by bus, nevertheless there is still a demand from persons who do not own a car, who are elderly, or who prefer to let someone else do the driving and arranging of accommodations. Bus tours are generally accompanied by a guide who ensures that the tourists miss none of the sights and who acts as interpreter and money changer. Conducted tours are especially popular in countries and regions where a tourist might hesitate to venture on his own and, in fact, many countries of the communist bloc encourage group tours. This is done for two main reasons: first, it keeps tourists under control and prevents them from wandering from the established tourist routes and, second, it allows the most efficient use of limited hotel space by ensuring bloc reservations of rooms. In addition, it simplifies the duties of inadequate restaurant staffs by organizing group meals.

Some European tourist organizations offer vacations by bus with camping instead of hotel accommodations. This is especially popular with Germans, who cross the frontier in buses which tow trailers, containing tents, equipment and even food, to the annoyance of the host countries, who feel that they are making little money out of this self-contained tourism.

Apart from organized tours, the bus is a popular form of international transport in many parts of the world. In Europe the railroads have combined their efforts in organizing the Europabus company, which links most of the countries in Western Europe with cheap and efficient services. Other bus services link Europe with the Middle East and North Africa. In North America transcontinental bus companies offer the best means of transportation for the foreign tourist who does not wish to rent a car or does not wish to miss the intimate contact with the local scenery and people which travel by bus in contrast to flying gives. With the low development of passenger rail transportation in the United States much of the expected increase in foreign tourism may be handled by bus, especially on short trips.

Sea Transportation

If tourism by car has shown a rapid increase in recent years and promises to be even more important in the future, tourism by ship has shown considerable decline and is undergoing some drastic changes at the moment. These remarks do not apply to ferries of various types, which, as we have seen, still remain important because of the increase in automobile tourism. Tourism by ship refers to the movement of people over longer distances by ocean-going ship. Before World War II virtually everybody travelling across the Atlantic or Pacific oceans or to South Africa, Australia or the Far East from Europe went by ship. A number of shipping lines of international fame, such as the Cunard Line, the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique (the French Line), the Holland-American Line, the Italian Line, and the North German Lloyd maintained a fleet of luxury liners which vied with one another for the "blue ribbon of the Atlantic." This was the era of the *Majestic*, the *Mauretania*, the *Europa*, the *Rex*, and later the *Normandie*, the *Queen Mary*, and the *Queen Elizabeth*. After the war many of these lines still continued to operate either with reconditioned ships or with new ones. Such ships as the *France*, the *United States*, the *Rotterdam*, the Italian liners, such as the *Cristoforo Colombo*, or *Michelangelo*, and later the Cunard's *QE 2*, replaced the pre-war fleet of prestige liners. It was not long, however, before the rapid rise in air transportation began to offer serious competition to the shipping lines. Not only were air fares dropping to the same level or even lower than shipping fares, but for persons with only a few weeks vacation, flying offered several days of extra time in the place of destination. The pleasure of an idle time at sea spent in the equivalent of a first-class hotel was often spoiled by cloudy or rough weather, especially on the north Atlantic route.

Apart from the competition with the airlines, shipping companies were being faced with rising costs. Liners are expensive to operate. Depreciation and the costs of crew and fuel can amount to 80 to 90 percent of total costs, and costs of the actual carriage of passengers amount to about ten percent of total costs (Couper 1972, p. 105). With the recent rise in fuel costs and the consid-

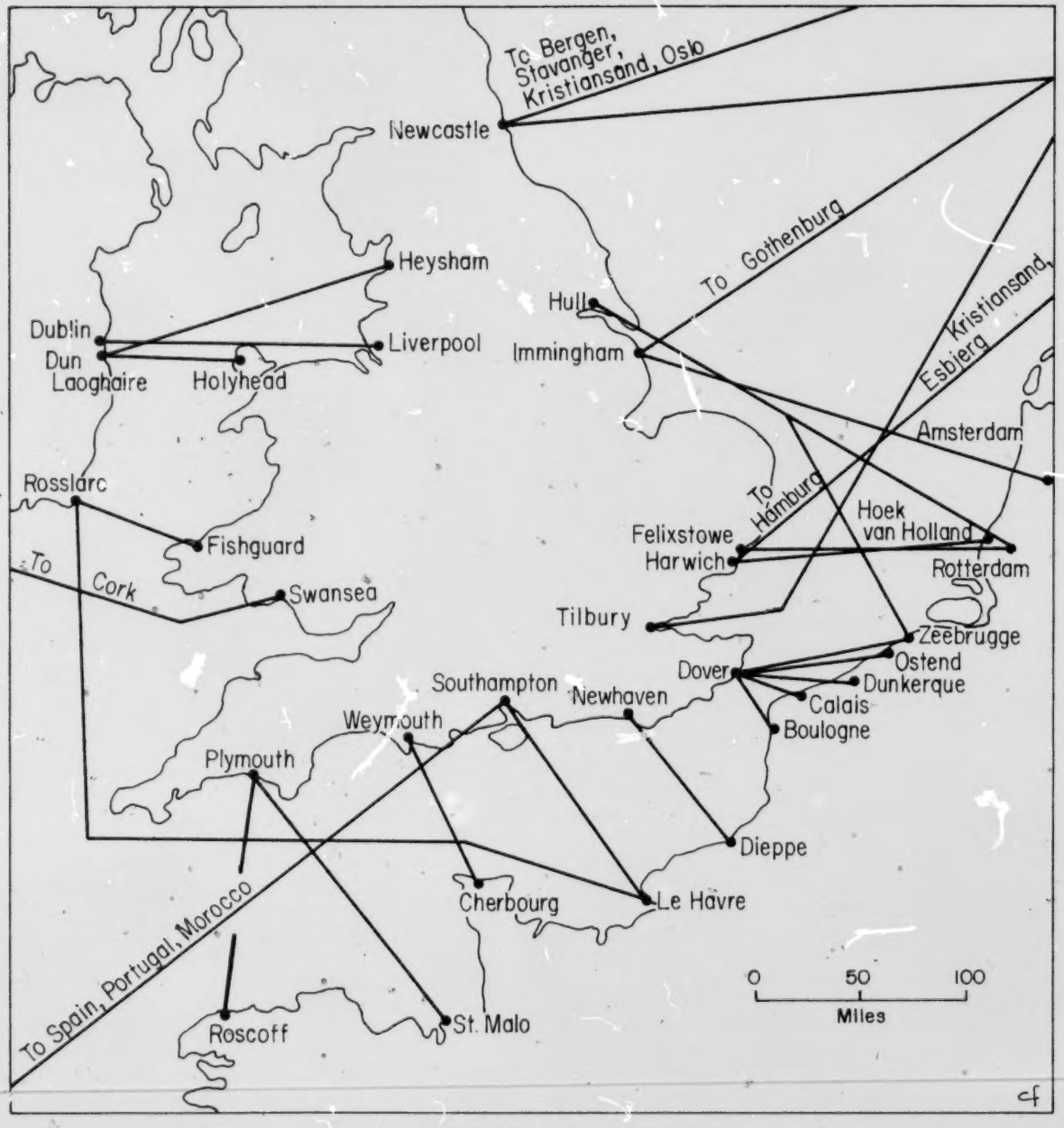

Figure 2. The Sea Ferries of Northern Europe.

erable increases in the wages of crews, operating a liner has become obviously very expensive. Some European shipping companies have attempted to cut costs by employing lower-paid Spanish, Greek, and Indonesian crew members. The introduction of labor-saving devices, such as automated galleys or self-service cafeterias, has also been tried in order to overcome the problem of the labor-intensive nature of passenger line services (Couper: 1972, p. 107). At present most shipping lines have withdrawn their passenger ships from the transatlantic trade. The Italians will shortly have phased out their once large transatlantic fleet, leaving the British *QE 2*, which, it is claimed, is still profitable to operate, and the Soviet *Mikhail Lermontov*, which began the New York-Leningrad run in 1973. The Russians speak optimistically of future prospects of this route, but sailings at present are limited in number. The Polish liner *Stefan Batory* still sails from Montreal and calls at several European ports.

Most of the liners in use at present have been switched

to cruises. New and smaller ships, such as the *Cunard Adventurer*, are being built for the sole purpose of cruising and are generally unsuitable for other purposes. Greek and Norwegian firms in particular are active in the cruise business. In many cases passengers fly to a port to join the ship, which speeds the turnover of passengers and avoids long voyages to and from the cruise areas. Apart from sunshine during the winter months, cruises offer the atmosphere of a good hotel, with cheap drinks, gambling, dancing, and other entertainments, with shore visits, generally in exotic places. Although cruises appeal to a certain relatively well-to-do and predominantly elderly clientele, their popularity seems assured and the floating resort trade is an important development in modern tourism. Further construction of cruise ships is likely and several American corporations, including Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, are interested in investing in this expanding business. The Russians have also started tourist cruises with the *Maxim Gorki*, originally the West German *Hamburg*, built in 1969 and bought in 1974 by the Russians. It will cruise to the Caribbean, the coasts of America, and from Canada to the Black Sea. It will obviously cater largely to North American tourists.

To complete the picture of tourism by water there must be added the many boats carrying tourists on the lakes and rivers of the world. Pleasure boats ply the Great Lakes, the Swedish and Finnish lakes, Lake Geneva, Loch Lomond, and Lake Victoria, to name a few. Regular international services by boat are maintained between cities on many major rivers, such as the Rhine and the Danube. Pleasure cruises by boat are also possible on the rivers and canals which link many countries in Europe and in theory it is possible to sail from the Baltic to the Mediterranean or from the French coast to the Black Sea on inland waterways. In practice most river and canal tourism consists of relatively short tours by specially-designed passenger boats or by rented or private small craft. On the larger rivers and lakes hydrofoil craft are becoming popular because of their greater speed.

"Transit" Tourism

Although the main role of transportation in the development of the tourist industry has been to move large numbers of people cheaply, safely, and rapidly to their destination and to make certain regions more accessible to the tourist, it has had the side-effect of encouraging a type of tourism which Christaller associated with "traffic centers and traffic nodal points," in particular where a change from one kind of transportation to another takes place (1955, p. 3, footnote 9). This type of tourism can best be thought of as "transit" tourism, as it is the result of persons stopping, generally for a short period, on their way to their major destination. Such centers of transit tourism are usually associated with transportation and consist mainly of ports, places with a major airport, or important railroad centers. Examples of ports with important transit tourism are New York, which receives many visitors both by sea and air whose ultimate destination lies elsewhere in the United States; Montreal, which serves as the gateway to Canada for many visitors; and Cape Town and Durban in South Africa. Some major ports handle tourist traffic, but have few attractions for the tourist to cause him to stay for more than a night. Such are Le Havre in France, Southampton in England, Genoa in Italy, and Bremen in Germany.

With the decrease in tourist movement by sea many ports are losing their transient visitors. Some ports with a major airport, such as Montreal and New York, still receive a large number of persons in transit. Airports, however, are not necessarily generators of a large transit tourism, as, unlike ports, they do not generally involve a change from one form of transportation to another and many persons never leave the airport between changes of planes. Nevertheless, even these persons may make a contribution to the local economy by purchases at the duty-free shops, which are now a familiar feature of most major airports. Amsterdam airport advertises its duty-free shopping center as the largest in Europe. The city of Amsterdam also offers a number of free tours, meals, and drinks to tourists who will break their journey in the city for a day or two. This is a deliberate attempt to create a transit tourism. The introduction of the jet airliner has increased the importance of cities such as London, Amsterdam, Paris, or Frankfurt-am-Main as first stops for the transatlantic tourist, but it has removed much of the transit trade from Shannon in Ireland and Prestwick in Scotland, both at one time important first stops on the flight from North America. Shannon had the largest of the first duty-free shops and was an important center for persons in transit who wished to spend a few days in Ireland. It still remains a major point of entry for visitors with a destination in Ireland. Iceland has developed an important transit tourism as Icelandic Airlines has promoted low-cost transatlantic passenger fares. Because Iceland does not participate in international fare agreements it offers cheap fares to travellers from the United States to Europe via Reykjavik. Passengers are encouraged to stop in Iceland for a day or two, and tours are offered not only in Iceland, but to Greenland as well, where passengers can visit an Eskimo village.

Transit tourism associated with railroad centers is limited mainly to Europe and is linked with aspects of urban tourism mentioned above. The fact that the train usually brings one to the heart of the city makes it easy for the tourist to spend time looking around or eating a meal between trains, or staying the night in one of the hotels usually found near railroad stations and doing some sight-seeing. Many railroad centers are also major cities, such as London, Paris, or Munich, which offer sufficient attractions to justify a short stay on the way through.

Transit tourism occurs also in the case of the automobile traveller although its concentration in certain key locations is not so obvious as in the case of ports, airfields, and railroad centers. There are, however, certain regions which lie on major highway routes between points of origin of major tourist flows and their destination. If these routes are particularly long, as for example, between the Ruhr region of Germany and south-

ern Spain or between Montreal and Florida, then the traveller will have to seek accommodations and food somewhere en route. This transit tourism has resulted in the great growth of motels, restaurants and other amenities along the major highways of North America and Europe. Certain regions in North America, such as the Great Plains states and the Prairie provinces of Canada lie on the routes from the East to the Rocky Mountains and the West coast and thus profit from the passage of tourists who might otherwise not visit these regions, which offer few scenic or cultural attractions. Many European countries contain regions with a large percentage of transients among their visitors. An example is Slovenia in northern Yugoslavia, which receives a large number of transient tourists on their way to the Dalmatian coast by car.

There are some cities which are the starting places for tours to adjacent countries or regions and thus receive numbers of transit tourists. Examples are Helsinki in Finland and Warsaw in Poland where tours to the Soviet Union often begin and end; Rovaniemi in Finland, a center for tours to Lapland; or Nairobi in Kenya, the center for wild-life safaris. The last two examples also have an element of what Christaller calls "central place" tourism (1955, p. 3). These "central tourism places" are the main centers of a region with particular tourist attractions and offer accommodations and other facilities for visitors to the region (Christaller also had in mind the more local influence of a central place as an attraction to persons actually resident in the region).

The World Pattern of Tourist Movements

When one studies statistics showing the direction of the major flows of tourists and their destinations, one is immediately struck by the uneven spatial distribution of international tourist activities. This distribution is due to a variety of factors; the uneven distribution of the resources of tourism; the wide variety of activities followed by vacationers (which also depend on their interests, aims, and goals, as well as on the types of transportation available or chosen); and changes in the seasons (Yefremov: 1973, pp. 10-11). Flows may also change or diminish if a particular region has been experiencing worse than average weather over a period. A couple of bad summers in northern Europe may cause people to seek a vacation in sunnier climes. This expansion and contraction in tourist flows may be caused by other social, economic, or cultural factors, such as the international or domestic political situation; economic changes in the countries of origin or reception of the tourist flows; changes in international monetary exchange rates; rise and fall in prices for tourist services, including food and lodging; and special attractions of short duration, such as festivals and sports events (Zachinyayev and Fal'kovich: 1972, p. 25).

It is this variety of factors which makes the analysis of tourist flows on a world-wide scale difficult. Williams and Zelinksy made an attempt to analyze patterns of international tourist flows, one of the few major contributions in the field made by Americans (1970). They have demonstrated clearly the existence of certain stable flows over a period of years (1958-1966). However, certain problems emerge when they try to find the reasons for the direction and strength of some of these flows. It is very difficult to analyze the reasons for the existence of a flow of tourists from one country to another without a fairly intimate knowledge of the historical, cultural, economic, social, and other factors involved.

If we look in some detail at one of the examples given by Williams and Zelinsky, some of the problems of tourist flow analysis emerge. They suggest that the large number of Dutch tourists to the United Kingdom is partially explained by the "intimate commercial ties between these two nations" (p. 564). As Williams and Zelinsky point out, there is a greater than expected flow of Dutch tourists to the U.K. compared with those from other countries. However, very few of these visitors could have been influenced to make their trip because of trade ties between the countries unless they were engaged in business. It appears more credible that among the factors attracting the Dutch to Britain are strong war-time ties, strengthened in many cases by marriage or personal friendship, the widespread knowledge of the English language among the Dutch, the attractions of shopping and sightseeing in London, and in some cases, the novelty of a sea crossing. In general the Dutch see themselves culturally as well as physically situated somewhere between the Germans and the British and feel themselves closer to either of these two countries than they do to the French.

To put the subject of Dutch tourism to the U.K. in perspective, however, it should be noted that in the late 1960's only about three percent of tourists leaving the Netherlands went to the United Kingdom, while about 20 percent (the largest proportion) went to West Germany and over 11 percent to France (*Elseviers Magazine:* 1971, p. 32). The popularity of the latter country can be explained by environmental attractions rather than by cultural and historical ties. In a recent study of Dutch tourist movements the largest proportion in 1974 (27 percent) still went to West Germany, followed by Belgium and Spain (both 16 percent), France (13 percent), Italy (nine percent), Scandinavia (four percent), and Great Britain (two percent) (*Elseviers Magazine:* 1974, p. 9).

An explanation of the direction and strength of tourist flows from a particular country may in fact require the analysis of a variety of factors which may be quite complex. Two examples are Dutch tourist flows to Belgium and Spain. Williams and Zelinksy present the idea that "shared cultural characteristics and earlier allegiance to a common flag" may help to explain the flow of tourists between the Netherlands and Belgium (p. 564). This factor may certainly have some influence on the flow of tourists between Germany and Austria or between the United States and Britain, as the authors suggest, but it plays a very minor role with the Dutch or the Belgians. The Dutch do not identify themselves strongly with the Flemish, whom they regard as foreigners with some very un-Dutch characteristics. Besides, the predominantly Flemish-speaking areas of northern Belgium appear to be uninteresting both physically and culturally to the Dutch, who prefer to head for the more

attractive regions of the Ardennes in the French-speaking parts of Belgium or Luxembourg. The Ardennes play an important role in Dutch tourism as they offer some of the nearest mountain scenery to home. The fact that Belgium was once part of the Netherlands plays a minor role in explaining the attitude of the two peoples to one another. It should also be noted that a large amount of day tourists cross the borders in both directions, the Dutch often going to the lively night-clubs and dance halls located just over the border, to Antwerp, which for some Dutch is the nearest large city to their home region, or for recreation in the relatively sparsely populated woodlands along the border.

The case of Dutch tourism in Spain is very different. Williams and Zelinsky stated that "the reputedly phlegmatic, businesslike Dutch appear to display little bravado in their greater than expected preference for Belgium, Luxembourg, the U.K. and Germany" compared with their neighbors (p. 566). The reasons for this lack of interest in long-distance tourism by the Dutch in the 1958-66 period was largely economic. The Dutch at this time had among the lowest average wages in Western Europe. Besides, the annual vacation was a low priority for the average Dutch family, which preferred to spend money on homes and interiors. About this time many people were beginning to own cars and little money was available for more than short vacation trips. The Dutch became notorious as tarifty vacationers. For example, in 1966 forty percent of Dutch vacationers took along a tent or small trailer, while only 20 percent of Belgian tourists chose this type of vacation. At the same time the average Belgian spent twice the amount of money on a foreign vacation than did the Hollander (*Eindhovens Dagblad:* 1971, p. 9). In 1974 somewhat the same pattern was still apparent. Twenty percent of Dutch tourists in Belgium stayed in trailers, while 48 percent of those visiting Scandinavia and 46 percent of those visiting France slept in tents. Eighty-five percent of all Dutch tourists going to France went by car. Far fewer went to Spain by car; 62 percent travelled by plane. This proportion is remarkably high, as only nine percent of total tourists leaving the Netherlands in 1974 went by plane. It is, of course, explained by inexpensive charter fares and package deals. Forty-one percent of the Dutch tourists in Spain stayed in summer homes and apartments and only 36 percent in hotels and pensions. The Dutch prefer, if possible, to stay in accommodations where they can prepare their own meals, thus saving on food expenses. Clearly, in the case of the Dutch, the more one must spend on transportation the less one tries to spend on accommodations and food. In connection with the earlier remarks about Dutch tourists to the United Kingdom, in 1974 twenty-two percent went by train, 17 percent by bus, and 56 percent by car, all involving a sea crossing by ship or ferry. Only 11 percent went by air. Of these tourists as many as 22 percent stayed with friends or relatives, illustrating the close ties existing between many Dutch and British people (*Elseviers Magazine:* 1974, pp. 9, 11, 13).

In 1976 the pattern of Dutch tourism to Spain is exhibiting signs of change due primarily to economic factors. Advance studies reveal that about one-quarter of the persons who went on vacation by air in 1975 now intend to go by another form of transportation. Charter flights to Spain will suffer in particular. About 40 percent of those tourists who went to Spain last year say that they will go elsewhere for their vacation in 1976. In particular the lower income groups find the charter fares too high, especially now that children must pay half fare instead of travelling free. Even with high gasoline prices a family can travel more cheaply by car than by air and it seems likely that the proportion of Dutch tourists vacationing by car will rise considerably. Vacation accommodations in neighboring countries have already been booked heavily in advance for the summer of 1976 (*Elseviers Magazine,* 1976).

The study of the tourist flows generated by any one country to a number of other receiving countries is clearly a complex matter and each case must be examined separately and in depth before a correct analysis can be arrived at. However, Williams and Zelinsky, if not quite so successful in explaining the reason for certain individual flows, have made a useful contribution to the methodology of studying a pattern of tourist flows. They selected 14 countries which had exhibited some consistency in flows over a number of years. By restricting the number of countries they have created an artificial closed system, which may distort analysis. However, these 14 countries account for the bulk of world tourist traffic and to introduce more would complicate the analysis (p. 551).

They demonstrate graphically the tourist flows by means of a series of diagrams consisting of a pattern of 14 squares on which are shown the proportions of tourists received and generated by each country (Figure 3). Similarities and differences in flow patterns between the countries over time can be studied by examining the coefficients resulting from a product-moment correlation of flows in and out of a given country by year (pp. 551-56).

The authors then describe a flow assignment model which indicates not only the difference between actual and expected flows between each pair of countries, but also the relative success of a country in attracting tourists from a sending country. This Relative Acceptance Index is computed by dividing the difference between actual and expected flows by the expected flow. The authors claim that this model provides a basis against which actual flows can be contrasted (pp. 556-63).

The tourist flows discussed in the article are clearly not random and a pattern exists. The authors suggest a few basic factors which generate them. They include (1) spatial distance, (2) presence or absence of international connectivity, including business, political, military and other ties, (3) reciprocity of tourist flows (which the authors admit is a doubtful concept), (4) general tourist attractiveness of one country for another, (5) cost of a visit to a given country, (6) influence of intervening opportunity (which we have already noted as "transit tourism"), (7) the national character of the source country, and (8) the mental image of the target area as perceived by potential visitors (pp. 563-66).

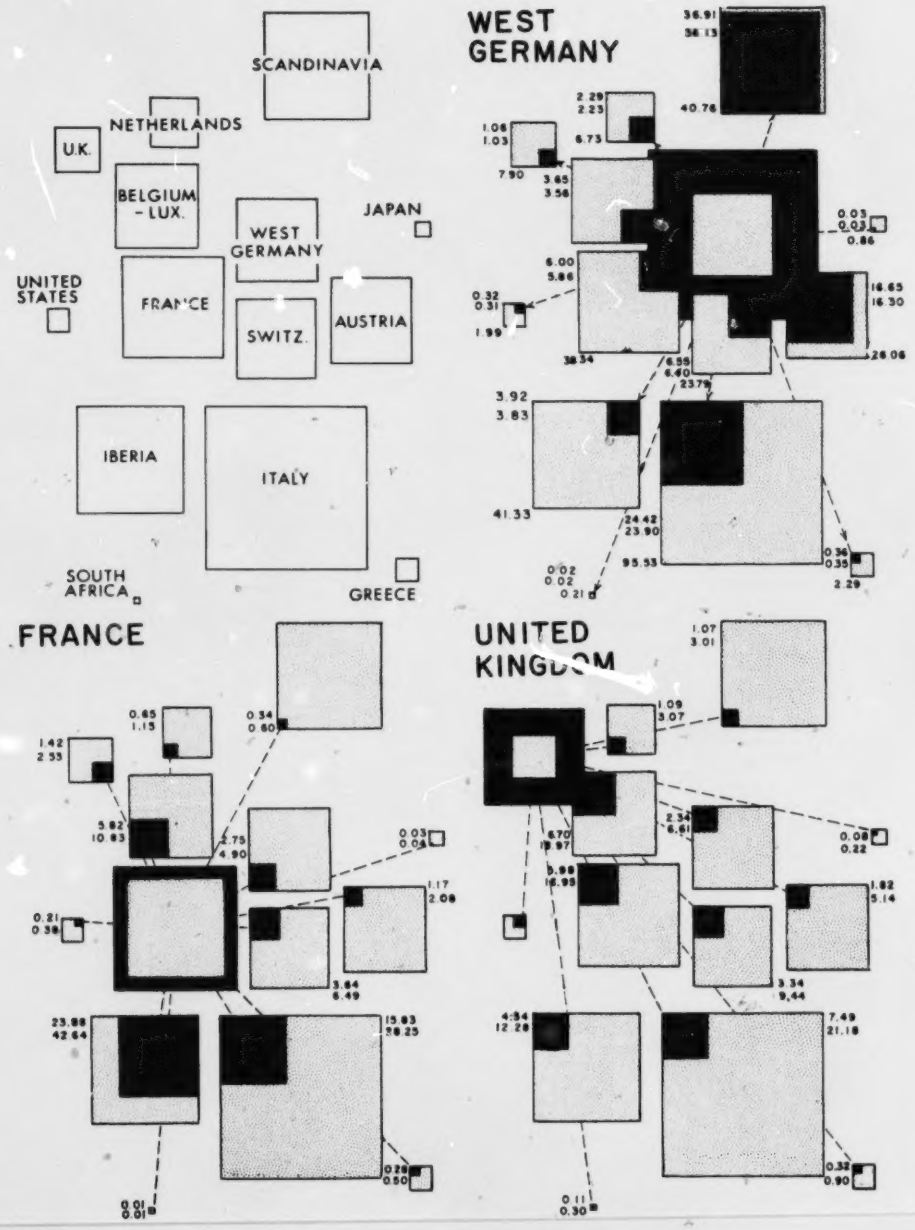

Figure 3. Aggregate tourist flows from selected countries to thirteen foreign lands for 1958, 1959, 1964, 1965, and 1966. This figure offers "an impression of the absolute volume and directions of flows of tourists among these nations. The area of the stippled square, appearing in the same relative location in each cartogram, represents the total number of tourists *received* by the indicated country from each of the other thirteen. The large cross-hatched square in each cartogram is equivalent to the total number of tourists *sent* by the named country to the other thirteen. The distribution of these travelers among the other countries is shown by the proportionally scaled black squares connected to the source area by dashed lines. For each of these lesser squares, two numbers appear: the upper one gives the absolute number of tourists (in millions) accounted for by that particular flow, and the lower item is the preceding number expressed as a percentage of total tourists sent by the country in question to the other thirteen. In the single instance of West Germany, a third value is given at the base of each subsidiary square—the total number of tourists received in millions. For example, we see that West Germany sent a total of 3.92 million tourists to Iberia, a figure representing 3.83 percent of all tourists reported from West Germany during the study period. Also note that the relative size of the hatched versus the stippled square for West Germany indicates that country exported many more tourists than it received." From Anthony V. Williams and Wilbur Zelinsky, "On Some Patterns in International Tourist Flows," *Economic Geography*, Vol. 46, No. 4, October 1970, pp. 553-555. Reprinted by permission of *Economic Geography*.

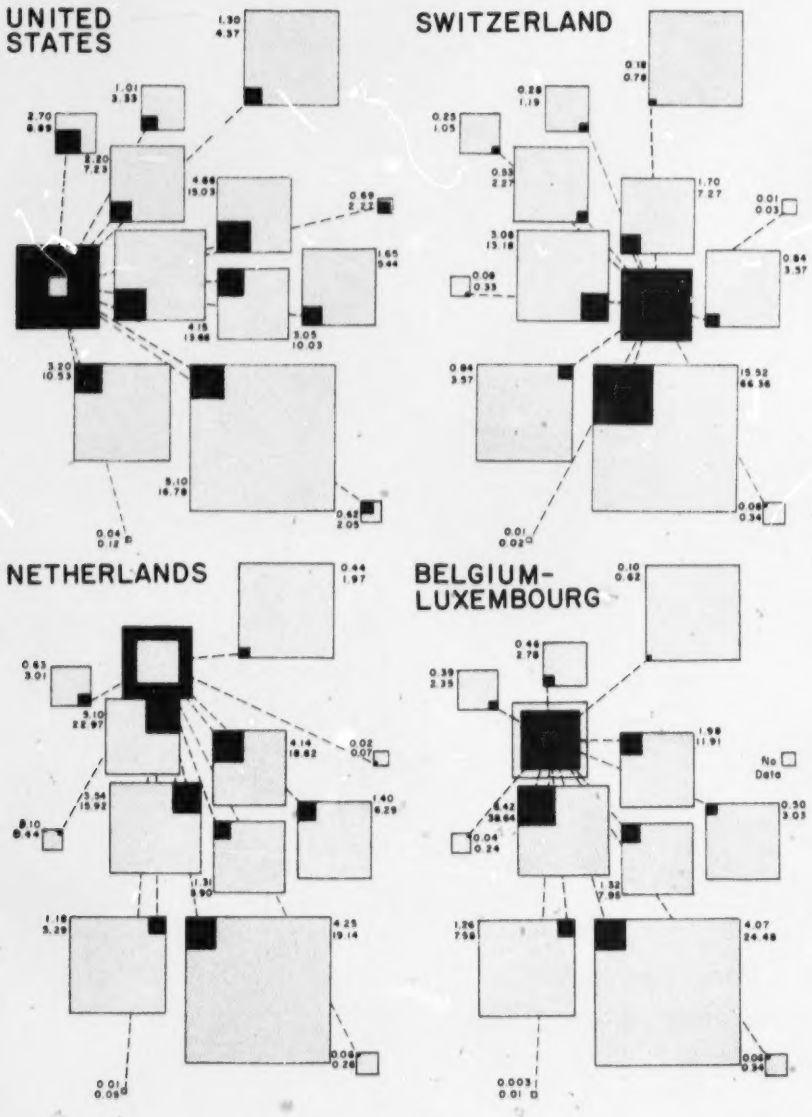

Figure 3 (continued).

Theoretical Aspects of the Geography of International Tourism

The use of a flow assignment model by Williams and Zelinsky raises the question of the development of theoretical models and their role in explaining the location of tourist activities and the direction and strength of tourist flows. A simple model of a tourist flow between two countries consists of three components, a country of origin, a country of destination, and a transportation link. The number of persons using the transportation link will be affected by the resistance of the link, which can be defined as a function of distance and cost. If we also take into account the propensity to participate (P) at the origin, then we can say that the flow for any link will be P × 1/ Resistance of the link (Chubb: 1969, pp. 26-27). Chubb uses this model as basis for a computer program to predict tourist flows between counties in Michigan, but it can be applied equally to international flows. Chubb points out that the inclusion of a number of countries can make the model extremely complex. Expanding the model to include as few as four countries results in the creation of 16 possible direct flow lines. However, a computer can handle a large number of links with few problems (p. 28).

The Slovak geographer, Peter Mariot, has developed a more elaborate model of tourist flows between two localities. As is shown in Figure 4, he supposes a place of permanent residence and a tourist center, linked by an access route, a return route and what he calls a "recreational route." Tourists using the access and return routes do not utilize the tourist facilities of the region

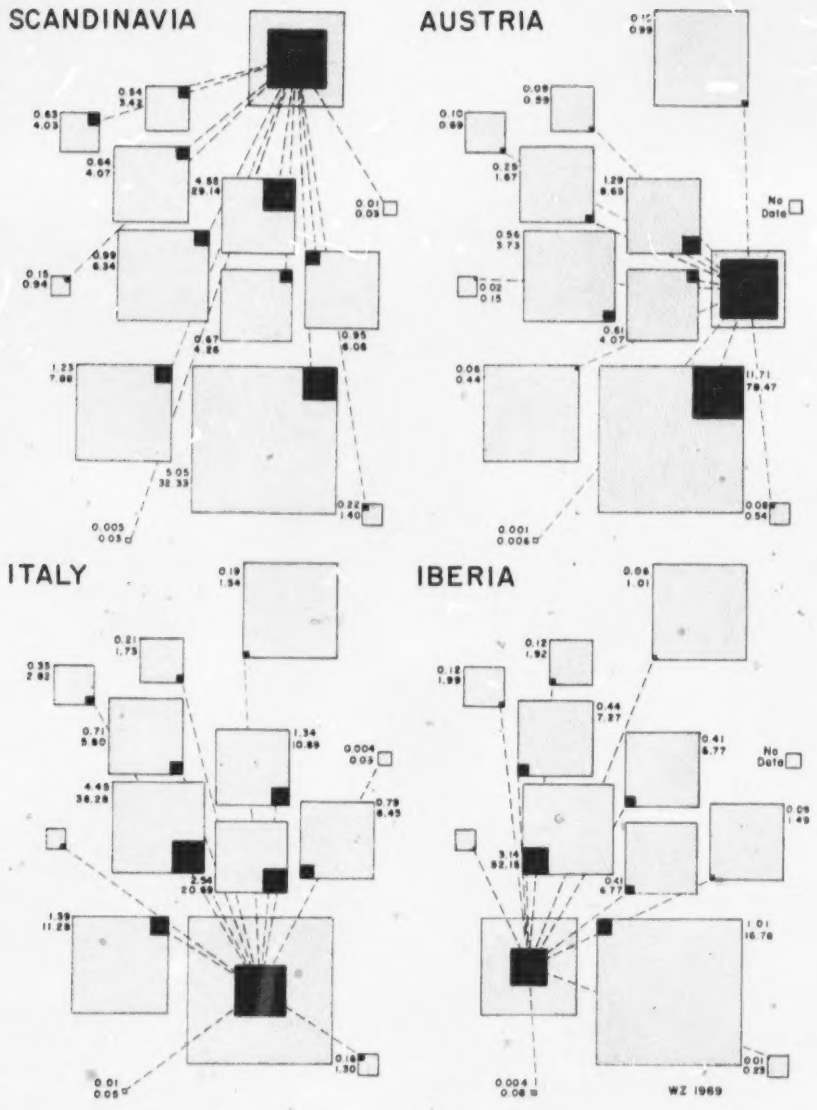

Figure 3 (continued).

through which they are passing, whereas those using the recreational route utilize the tourist facilities of the region through which it passes, even though it is not the ultimate goal of their journey (1969*a*, pp. 288-89). The tourist can enter the recreational route from the place of permanent residence or the tourist center or, alternatively, from the access route or the return route. This model allows for consideration of "intervening opportunity" or transit tourism. Mariot's model is based on the work of the Yugoslav geographer Živadin Jovičić, who has also developed a model of the hinterlands of tourist centers. Similar work has also been carried out by American geographers on the model of concentric impact zones around a tourist attraction (Deasy and Griess: 1966, pp. 290-92). However, this model is more applicable to domestic tourism than to international tourist flows.

The development of a macro-theory of tourist flows is closely tied to the development of spatial theories of transportation. Transportation geographers have studied interregional flows and the phenomenon of distance decay and have developed several methods of flow analysis, including transaction flow analysis, factor analysis, analysis of modal flows and distance-based analysis (Hay: 1973, pp. 118-25). The gravity model has also been used to explain flow systems, although Hay has criticized it as an inadequate theoretical model (pp. 127-32). Nevertheless, gravity models have been successfully developed in many flow studies (Chisholm: 1975, pp. 150-57). Considerable work still remains to be done

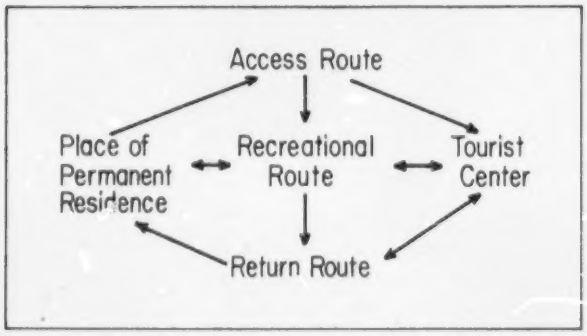

Figure 4. Model of Tourist Flows between Two Locations (after Mariot).

before a substantial body of macro-theory can be developed in the geography of international tourism either in the form of a modification of one or more of the above models or by the development of new models. For more information on models of networks and flows, see Leinbach (1976).

A model has been developed at the micro-level which helps to explain the conditions under which a tourist will decide the length of a journey which he proposes to make. This decision is not simply a matter of cost but also one of discomfort. A German economist, Horst Todt, has developed a theory of journey distance which he develops within the framework of a spatial theory of tourism. He postulates an agglomeration of population consisting of a number of cities which can be treated as one very large city. An example would be the Ruhr region. Around this agglomeration are symmetrically distributed villages and small towns, including spas, health resorts, and recreation centers of all types. The natural environment of this surrounding region is varied, but the inhabitants of the agglomeration have no special preference for any one place. It is thus a touristically homogeneous region (1965, pp. 27-28).

The inhabitants of the agglomeration wish to make recreation journeys from time to time which take them as far as possible from their place of residence. Todt points out that journeys take time and that if time is limited, then a limit will be set on the distance of the journey. If we leave the time factor out of consideration, then the two factors of expenditure of money (the cost of the journey) on the one hand and the discomforts and fatigue of the journey on the other will form the limiting factors on the distance of journey undertaken. To a certain extent the expenditures and the discomforts of a journey can be substituted for one another. Greater expenditures can provide greater comfort and reduce the problems encountered on a journey. Likewise, if the traveller is willing to put up with greater discomfort he can reduce his expenditures. If we express the discomforts of a journey in monetary terms in the same way as we express other costs, then it is clear that long journeys will cost more than short journeys. Hence, all other things being equal, the distance of a journey is determined by the amount of money available (p. 28).

Todt demonstrates (Figure 5) that, if we measure the

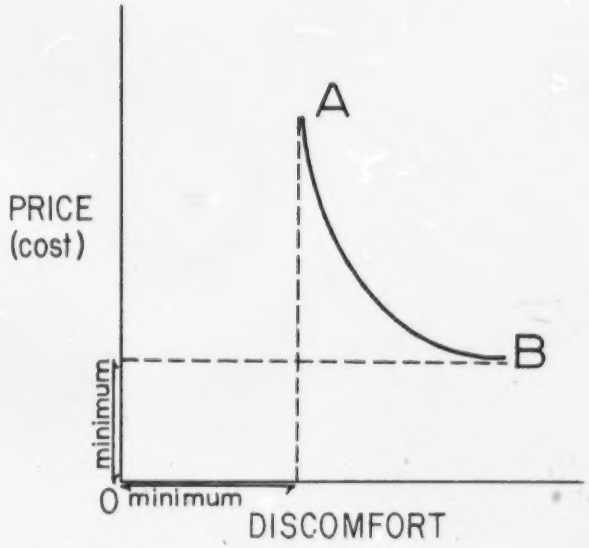

Figure 5. Substitution Curve of Price Against Discomfort of a Journey (after Todt).

price of the journey along the *y* axis and discomfort along the *x* axis, there is a minimum price and a minimum level of discomfort which exists for each journey. He fits a curve *AB* along which the traveller has the possibility of substituting price for discomfort within the limits of the minima. As the minima of price and of discomfort vary with the distance of a given journey, so

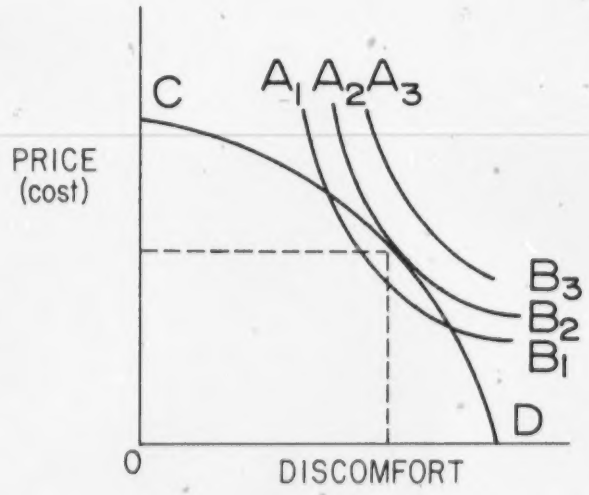

Figure 6. Determination of Length of Journey (after Todt).

the values shown by the substitution possibility curve may also change. Each distance thus has its own substitution curve. This curve, which represents the possibility of substitution of expenditures for discomfort, tells us nothing about the readiness of a traveller to exchange discomfort for expenditure. It is thus not an indifference curve as we have not assumed that the traveller shows any indifference to journeys involving differing levels of expenditure and correspondingly differing levels of comfort (pp. 33-36).

Expenditures and discomfort can be thought of together as forming a burden which the traveller must bear. An indifference curve *CD* can be drawn which shows all combinations of discomfort and expenditure which in the judgment of the given individual create an equal burden. Todt demonstrates that this curve will be concave in shape to the point of origin, as is shown in Figure 6 (pp. 37-40). If we assume as hypothesized that the traveller tries to achieve the longest possible journey that he can make within the time frame which is allowed him or acceptable to him, then we can see from Figure 6, where the indifference curve is placed in conjunction with a series of substitution possibility curves (A_1B_1, A_2B_2, A_3B_3) for different lengths of journeys, that the maximum length of journey undertaken will be determined by the point at which one of the substitution curves is tangential to the indifference curve. This point will also determine the level of expenditure on the journey (pp. 40-41).

This model forms the basis for a series of discussions by Todt of cases where the indifference curve may be replaced by another if the traveller is willing to accept an increased burden, but may either retain the same proportion between the factors of expenditure and discomfort or change them. Much of Todt's further development of his theory of travel goals is mathematically complex and is primarily oriented to domestic tourism. An interesting point raised by Todt's discussions is that in his opinion theories of industrial location, as well as the theories of Christaller, Lösch, and von Thünen, are of little help in developing a location theory for a demand-oriented industry such as tourism (pp. 11-26). Further development of theory in the field of international tourism obviously must be sought in other directions than in attempting to make standard locational theories fit this special case.

III. TOURISM AND THE REGIONAL ECONOMY

The economic impact of tourism on a given region is a subject primarily for study by economists, but at the same time one which can not be ignored by geographers. The development of tourist resorts and other amenities in a region affects settlement patterns, population distribution, transportation routes and the spatial pattern of agriculture and industry. The impact of tourism on the physical environment of a region also has both economic and ecological aspects which are of interest to the geographer.

Before considering some of the more particular aspects of the impact of tourism on a region we shall look at the concept of the existence of a saturation level for tourism in a given region or district. This idea has been forcibly expressed by the British economist Sir George Young. He claims that if this saturation level is exceeded, the costs of tourism outweigh the benefits. Saturation levels are determined by availability of labor, the amount of land suitable for hotel development, the capacity of the roads or of the main tourist attractions of the region. It is easy to demonstrate the concept of saturation for tourist facilities such as restaurants, beaches and scenic areas, but more difficult for cities or regions. Little work has been done in this field. Nevertheless there are four main ways in which saturation of a locality or a region can take place (Young: 1973, pp. 111-12).

According to Young, the first problem is the diversion of land to tourist uses which denies its use for other purposes, such as schools, residential housing, or open space. He gives examples from Africa of the conflict between the needs of tourists and of wild game in national parks and the wider area of conflict between land use for hotels and for residential housing in cities. The second problem is the adverse effect of the tourist industry on the local employment structure. Young thinks that a growing proportion of the labor force being employed in the tourist industry can have a depressing effect on regional economic growth because of the lower productivity potential of work in the tourist industry. Employment in hotels is largely seasonal, with low-skilled, low-paid workers, often women, part-time, or family labor. In some cases hotels bring in workers from abroad, which leads to the problem of providing residential housing for these workers near their work, as most of them must rely on public transport. Foreign labor may also create political or racial tensions. The third problem leading to saturation of a region is the pressure on the urban infrastructure, such as water supply, electricity, taxi services, and especially on the transportation system of a given city or region. This is particularly noticeable in the older tourist cities. Finally, the combination of the preceding factors can cause a psychological saturation level among the local residents which can lead to negative feelings towards the tourists. Residents have to compete with tourists for a given supply of services and, in addition, many object to the poor architectural quality of new hotels or to the development of gambling establishments in their community (Young: 1973, pp. 112-23).

Young's points are important and must be considered when assessing the benefits and drawbacks of developing a regional or national tourist policy. Some form of control of the numbers of tourists admitted to a country may be necessary, either by requiring visas for visitors from abroad or by tourist taxes of various kinds. However, few national governments or regional authorities are willing to stop the "golden hordes" as Turner and Ash call them. They further document the great damage that tourism has done to the economies and psyches of various countries (1975).

Two studies point to the problems of tourist saturation in Spain. Parsons discusses the situation on Majorca, where *la saturación hotelera* exists. Palma de Mallorca has 1,800 hotels and 200,000 tourist beds and is "one of the world's great human concentrations at the height of the season." Its jet airport during the summer season is one of Europe's busiest (1973, pp. 135-36). His map of high-rise hotels and tourist apartments with eight stories or more located on the Costa del Sol demonstrates dramatically the level of the impact of tourism on this region (p. 137). Another account of the impact of tourism in Spain concentrates on the changes in the way of life and local economy of the town of Formentera on the Balearic Islands (Robertson: 1965, pp. 926-39). People seeking the peace and solitude of a small rural town in the sun are increasingly liable to a rude shock as the coasts of the Mediterranean become crowded with buildings and human beings.

The problems of saturation are not only perceived in the West. Soviet geographers point particularly to the impact of an excessive number of tourists on the environment of beaches and coastal regions, leading to pollution and to the spread of infectious diseases (Zachinyayev and Fal'kovich: 1972, p. 38). However, the economic and social aspects of saturation do not seem as yet to have received much attention in the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe.

Tanzania provides an interesting example of a national debate on the pros and cons of tourist development. Tanzania has been developing a socialist economy and, although the value of tourism as a means to economic development has been recognized, there has been some doubt on its place in a developing country with a socialist system. On one hand the tourist is seen as an alien and colonialist influence. The local people working

in hotels and resorts must adopt a humiliating subservient attitude to foreigners which is tantamount to "cultural imperialism." The Cuban response was to put the tourist hotels "to proper use," housing students and workers on their way to sugar-cane cutting (Shivji: 1973, pp. vii, ix). On the other hand, tourism helps to raise the gross national product and brings in foreign exchange. It is a mistake to say that tourism only benefits the capitalists, as some Tanzanian students claim. Large-scale tourism has been developed to advantage in socialist countries such as Yugoslavia and Bulgaria (Mitchell: 1973, pp. 23-24). The result of this debate, which was carried out on a broad national front in 1970 with a number of Tanzanian and foreign participants does not seem to have affected the government's plans to continue with the development of tourism. Tanzania has a serious competitor in Kenya, which has been developing its tourism quite successfully in recent years. Obviously there are few governments willing to restrict the flow of tourists.

A discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of tourism as a means of economic development raises the question as to whether a method exists for measuring its economic impact. One approach is the use of the "tourist multiplier," such as that devised by Peters (1969, pp. 236-38). The concept of the multiplier has been discussed in detail by Bryden, who points not only to some basic problems involving data and methodology, but also to the fact that the basic Keynesian multiplier was designed for the planning of short term policies. The tourist multiplier does not measure the benefit accruing over a longer period to the economy from the expansion of tourism as it does not assess accurately the real cost to society of devoting resources to tourism (1973, pp. 73-77). Therefore, Bryden proposes instead using cost-benefit analysis and develops a methodology which he uses for the study of tourism in the Caribbean (pp. 78, 82-96).

Bryden's approach to the impact of tourism on a region is that of an economist. The geographer, although interested in the approach of the economist, is primarily concerned with the spatial aspects of the impact of tourism on a region as well as its environmental impact. In the case of a sparsely populated region or one with a poorly developed or depressed economy, the impact may be great. For example, the construction of a major resort or hotel complex and its subsequent operation not only creates employment for local people, but may also bring in workers from outside the region, creating a demand for housing and services, which may result in the growth of local settlements. The construction of new highways and airfields not only changes the map of the region, but in turn may attract new industry. The agricultural pattern of a region may be changed either by the creation of new markets for vegetables, fruit, milk products, and other foodstuffs or, on the other hand, if the agriculture of the region is of marginal quality, alternative employment in the tourism sector may hasten the decline and even demise of local agricultural activities. The latter case is especially noticeable in mountain regions, such as the Alps, where pastoral and agricultural activities have declined greatly with the impact of mass tourism. In 1972 a conference of French geographers was held in Antrans and Grenoble to study the effect of tourism on employment in the Alps. The papers given at this conference cover problems of methodology as well as regional and local situations (Colloque d'Antrans-Grenoble: 1973).

Another development in modern tourism is the purchase or rent of vacation homes and cottages. In many cases this is an aspect of regional or national tourism, but increasingly foreigners have been establishing vacation homes in certain countries, particularly in Europe and North America. In Europe the Germans appear to be in the vanguard and their land and property purchases range from Scandinavia to Spain and from Ireland to Greece. In some winter sports areas private ownership of chalets or huts is becoming more common. In some summer and winter resorts large blocks of apartments are for rent or for sale. The purchase of an apartment or home may be regarded as an investment, as once the family has used it for its own purposes it may be rented out to others. In a sunny region, such as southern Spain, such property may bring in a year-round income. Vacation homes may also be purchased with an eye to eventual retirement. Americans are now buying vacation and retirement property in Mexico and the Caribbean region, and summer cottages in Ontario or Quebec, with their cool summers, or winter sports chalets in the Laurentians are also popular with people from the eastern U.S. Apart from the fact that the local people in some areas may resent this intrusion of aliens, in some cases the only people who gain economically are those who have sold their land, farmhouses, or cottages to foreigners, often at grossly inflated prices. The contribution of the summer residents to the regional economy may be small as some of the visitors may bring their own supplies with them and their stay is generally short.

The establishment of summer or winter colonies of foreigners does not create the local employment offered by a major resort complex nor does it necessarily bring in a great deal of foreign currency. It has an impact on the local economy only to the extent that it creates a demand for the services of local storekeepers, handymen, and others who may look after the property during the owners' absence. In general, these colonies create few new services, including transportation facilities, because most of the owners of vacation homes are seeking peace in a rustic setting, unspoiled by modern development.

The topic of vacation and summer homes lies to a great extent outside the field of international tourism. Most owners of vacation homes are not foreigners and the problems associated with their location and development are generally best studied on a local or regional scale. The subject of summer homes forms an important branch of study of recreational geography and a substantial literature exists.

IV. GEOGRAPHICAL STUDIES OF INTERNATIONAL TOURISM

Studies of international tourism by geographers fall into three major categories: (1) studies of tourism as a general phenomenon, (2) studies of the development of tourism or the potentials for development of specific countries or regions, and (3) studies of specific branches or aspects of tourism.

Under the first category are studies which examine the geographical factors involved in the development of international tourism, such as those examined by Bruno Nice (1965, pp. 249-67). He discusses the basic impulses that create tourism and sees tourism as a phenomenon of circulation and thus a spatial phenomenon. Apart from the study of the environmental and spatial aspects of tourism, he sees the study of the impact of tourism on the population and settlement pattern of a region as an important aspect of geographical research (p. 253). He also examines the geography of tourist circulation and urges the study of the transportation factor at all levels, from intercontinental to regional, and emphasizes the importance of regional planning for tourism (pp. 263-64). The study of the geographic aspects of tourism by the Slovak geographer Gustáv Sládek, discussed in some detail previously, also falls within this category (1966). The Soviet geographer Yefremov also looks at the nature of tourist geography and, although his interests are directed more to domestic than to international tourism, he makes some interesting points. In particular he stresses the systems approach to tourist geography and sees the development of a series of spatially organized complexes of recreational systems, called "territorial-recreational systems." These consist of a system of links, including various forms of transport and services (1973, p. 14). He also points to the necessity for the continued role of "descriptive geography" and for the development of regional tourist geography as important contributions to the field (p. 19).

Under this category of studies are also those involving international tourist movements, of which the study by Williams and Zelinsky discussed previously is a major example. Few studies of this type or scope have been attempted by European geographers.

The second category of geographical studies includes a large number devoted to the development of tourism in European and other countries. A typical example is the study of tourism in Italy by the Italian geographer, Giovanni Merlini. He discusses the role of the Italian landscape as a good which is economically usable, has a value, and yields a return. It is a resource which is still far from complete utilization (1968, pp. 1, 4). He reviews the concept of a tourist region and the regional impact of tourism. Merlini sees three essential problems for study by geographers as: (1) demand for tourism, (2) research on the location of new reception areas, and (3) the adaption of the phenomena of tourism to different forms of landscape (p. 9). He places some of his ideas in the framework of the Italian peninsula. This type of study thus contains some general principles applied to a particular region.

Other studies in this category may contain fewer ideas and are more descriptive. An example is the study of the development of international tourism in Bulgaria by Mironenko. He points out that Bulgaria is the leader among the socialist countries and one of the first in the world in the speed of its growth of international tourism. After a short review of the history of tourism in Bulgaria, he analyzes in some detail the recreational resources of the country. He then discusses tourist flows and their countries of origin and the factors influencing these flows. Finally, Mironenko gives a detailed analysis of the major tourist regions, with special attention to the Black Sea coast, and examines the seasonal nature of Bulgarian tourism. The study is illustrated with maps showing major cultural and historical attractions, tourist regions and the major tourist features of the Black Sea coast (1973, pp. 177-91). His study is typical of a large number in the literature which are basically descriptive and informative in nature, but contain few new concepts of methodology.

A number of studies of the suitability of national or regional environments for tourist development have been carried out by physical geographers. A Soviet geographer, N. A. Danilova, has analyzed the climate of the Baltic region of the Soviet Union according to its suitability for tourism. She arrives at a definition of the most comfortable type of weather for human activities in terms of the temperature of the skin, amounts of perspiration, sensation of heat, and the burden placed on the heat-regulatory system of the body (1973, p. 165). Her norm for the study is the level of comfort for healthy persons from 18 to 40 years of age, engaged in light work. Older people and children generally have a different comfort level as do campers and others spending all their time outdoors. People from different climatic zones of the world also have different levels of comfort (pp. 166-67). Climatic conditions for the development of spas and health resorts are also different from those required for active young tourists. Danilova produces maps with isolines showing the number of days in 1962 and 1964 during which weather conditions produced the defined level of comfort as well as diagrams of

the distribution of comfortable and uncomfortable weather according to seasons. Comparisons of the data for these two years with the mean annual weather for the region enables her to arrive at conclusions about spatial and temporal differences in comfort levels (pp. 169-75, 220). A study of this type can be of great value in planning for future tourist facilities.

The third category of studies includes those which examine a particular branch of tourism. A number of studies have been made of winter sports resorts in the Alpine countries. A good example is the article by the French geographer Robert Meriaudeau in which he analyzes the development and problems of three Alpine winter resorts: Garmisch-Partenkirchen in Germany, the Arlberg resorts in Austria, and Verbier, a new resort in Switzerland. He devotes considerable space to a discussion of problems of transportation (1963). The Italian geographer Umberto Bonapace also looks at winter sports in Italy from a geographic viewpoint (1968). The numerous articles which have appeared in various languages on the subject of "sunshine and sea" tourism in the Mediterranean region also fall within this category.

Some European geographers have carried out studies of particular groups of tourists who visit their country or region. French geographers have studied the Anglo-Saxon invasions of their territory. Jean Ginier examined the development and impact of American tourism in France and analyzed the factors involved in this old tourist tradition according to numbers and composition of tourists, means of transport, tourist expenditure, and the regions visited (1964). Jacques Joly studied British tourism in Savoie and Dauphiné during three time periods, starting in 1920. He showed the early importance of Chamonix as a major British resort and discussed the role of climbing, spas, lake shore resorts, and the city of Grenoble as attractions for the British. At present the pattern has changed. Many tourists arrive by air and the cities of Grenoble and Chambéry have become more attractive to the British, while Chamonix has now mainly American and German tourists. The British do not come to the region for winter sports and in general the mountain resorts have a small British clientele. Joly uses a map with proportional divided circles to show the number of domestic and foreign visitors to each resort. A similar map for winter resorts shows the low proportion of foreign visitors during that season (1963).

Because of the increasing importance of tourism in the national economies of many countries, a number of meetings and conferences of geographers and others have been organized to exchange views on the subject of tourism. French geographers held a national conference on applied geography in 1961 at which discussions of tourist geography occupied an important place (Kayser: 1962). In 1968 the Romanian geographers held their first national conference of tourist geography presenting 35 papers on subjects ranging from tourist regionalization and other general topics to studies of individual tourist regions. The conference concluded with a regional field trip (Badea: 1969, pp. 91-93). Several other countries have held similar conferences, including one on the subject of tourism and the environment in Britain in 1971 (British Tourist Authority: 1972).

At the international level a conference of the Working Group on the Geography of Tourism and Recreation of the International Geographical Union was held in Austria in 1973. Geographers from 10 countries presented 23 papers which were later published (Matznetter: 1974). The major research themes of the Working Group were: (1) terminology, (2) physical nature and development of tourism, (3) tourism as a factor of national and regional development, (4) international boundaries and their bearing on the development of tourism, and (5) the spatial behavior of leisure-time activities (Matznetter: 1974, p. 7). In 1967 the Association of Geographers of French America held a conference in Quebec on the subject of tourism and geography, which resulted in the publication of a special volume of articles (Association des Géographes de l'Amérique Française: 1967, pp. 3-170).

The increasing involvement of the geographers of many countries in both international and domestic tourism is evident from the volume of publications and the number of conferences and meetings at which geography of tourism is a major theme. Although domestic tourism and recreation may still be the major subject of research in some countries, there are few where the impact of international tourism is not beginning to play an increasingly important role.

V. PHYSICAL AND CULTURAL FACTORS INFLUENCING THE LOCATION OF TOURISM

The study and analysis of tourist flows and their patterns on the surface of the earth form the core of the geography of international tourism. We have seen the various forms of transportation which permit the rapid and widespread movement of tourists around the world. We have also looked at the methodology for the study of these flows and at the impact of tourism on the economy of places and regions. However, people do not travel considerable distances and are not willing to expend money and experience discomfort to get to a specific destination unless that place offers certain attractions which their own place of residence does not possess. In other words, flows and patterns of tourism result because of a variety of physical and cultural attractions possessed by different places which appeal to people with different backgrounds, tastes and needs. The uneven distribution of tourism on the surface of the earth is explained to a great extent by the complex interrelationships between attractions of various types and the interests and desires of tourists.

In order to be able to explain these interrelationships and in turn the tourist movements which develop from them, the geographer needs to know the various characteristics of the people and places involved. Therefore, it is necessary to look at the various factors which make a place attractive for tourism and also at the way in which people perceive a place as attractive or not.

Sun, Sea, and the Resort

Of all the factors influencing the location of tourist activities the most important are the physical. The mass development of tourism in Europe derives from the existence, on one hand, of urbanized regions with a cool, cloudy climate and, on the other, of relatively underpopulated regions with a warm, sunny climate. It has been said that the large migration of Germans to Spain and Italy is not a reflection of an interest in Latin culture, but of the shortness and coldness of Germany's coastline (Simpson: 1968, p. 233). A large number of resorts[2] ring the Mediterranean coast for housing and feeding the worshippers of sun and sea from Northern Europe. Other amusements and entertainments may be provided, but they are sidelines to the major attractions of the sun and the beach. To many tourists the country matters little. Spain may have bullfights and flamenco dancers and Italy may have Latin lovers and the Leaning Tower of Pisa, but what matters to most is the promise of reliable sunshine, warm temperatures, a beach to lie on, warm water to swim in, and clean but cheap hotels and restaurants. In fact the relative popularity of Spain in the last couple of decades over Italy and the south of France has been attributed to its relatively low prices. Yugoslavia, Romania, and Bulgaria have been the latest countries to develop their coasts for tourism and to offer low cost vacations to sun-hungry northerners. The complex of new hotels stretching along the Black Sea coasts of Romania and Bulgaria is a good example of development designed primarily to exploit warm summer temperatures and broad sandy beaches which slope gently into a sea free from dangerous currents and jellyfish. Foreigners are housed in hotels according to nationality and language and, although trips can be made to various inland natural and cultural attractions, contact between the guest and the local people is limited.

[2] Place visited by people for the purpose of recreation, health, etc.

Problems of Coastal Resorts

This isolation of resort visitors from the surrounding native peoples is also a phenomenon of modern tourist development in areas other than Eastern Europe. In many countries new resorts and hotels are being built from scratch on empty coastlines, with tourists, waiters, cooks and maids all coming from outside the area. This can produce an "ocean liner" atmosphere, insulated from the outside world (Simpson: 1968, pp. 233-34). It is probably true that many people like it this way, as it limits the need to communicate with foreigners and reduces contacts with possibly unpleasant or perhaps puzzling aspects of local life.

This tendency towards isolating tourists from local life runs counter to the view of tourism often propagated by writers in the communist countries. A Romanian view is that "tourism in general, including tourist geography, serves a high humanistic ideal of education, of progress and peace between peoples" (Iancu: 1976, p. 374). To a Soviet writer tourism is "a form of cultural contact between peoples of different countries" and "tourism between socialist countries plays an important role in developing social connections between them and helps to develop the world system of socialism" (Anan'yev: 1968, pp. 11-12). This somewhat idealistic view of tourism, difficult to associate with present trends in mass tourism, is tempered by the warning that "the Soviet people constantly remember that tourist exchange between socialist and capitalist countries takes place at the same time in the arena of a political and ideological struggle with its own specific features" (Anan'yev: 1968, p. 13). This last remark would suggest

the advisability of isolating tourists from capitalist lands as much as possible from contacts with the local population. In fact, the attraction of the tourist mark or dollar for the governments of many of the communist countries is offset by the dangers of excessive contact between their peoples and Western tourists.

Although the Mediterranean beaches of Southern Europe and North Africa, along with those of the Black, North, and Baltic Seas, have virtually monopolized the seaside tourist trade of the Old World (Figure 7*), other continents are beginning to develop their resources. The United States has seen the development of the Florida beaches along with those of the Carolinas, and California. Mexico has its Acapulco, and the Caribbean Islands have developed their resorts at a rapid rate during the last two decades. Uruguay attracts other Latin Americans with its excellent beaches and casinos. In West Africa, the Ivory Coast is developing a major coastal resort for foreign tourists.

This development of seaside resorts in sunnier climates has had considerable repercussions on resorts in northern Europe. With an increase in the number of persons able to afford vacations which occurred during the Victorian period in Great Britain, a number of major seaside resorts had developed. They were located mainly near large urban concentrations, the most notable being Brighton, serving the London area, and Blackpool, serving the industrial North. Their growth was speeded by the development of rapid railroad transportation (Robinson: 1972, p. 384). On the continent similar types of resorts arose, such as Scheveningen serving the Hague, Ostend serving Brussels, Deauville serving Paris, and Le Touquet serving Paris and Brussels, whereas in the United States, Atlantic City served the New York-Philadelphia region. Apart from offering the visitor a beach and the sea, and, with luck, some sunshine, these resorts developed various other attractions, such as promenades, piers, amusement galleries, dancehalls, casinos, and theaters, and accommodations ranged from cheap bed-and-breakfast establishments to giant luxury hotels. The development of resorts in the Mediterranean and other sunnier and warmer regions, along with the ability of more people to afford longer vacation journeys, has led to the demise of many of the seaside resorts of northern Europe. Luxury hotels have been closed or converted to other uses and many resorts rely now for their income on the day tripper, whose range of activity has been increased greatly by the automobile, or on a more stable population of retired persons. Because of the great increase in day tourism by car and the resultant traffic congestion in resort towns, many tourists are seeking small, unspoiled villages and towns, which, in their turn, will become overcrowded.

It should be noted that the transition from northern to southern European resorts involves factors other than purely climatic ones. The earliest resort development in the Mediterranean region took place on the French Côte d'Azur. The period from 1865 until World War I saw the rise of Nice and Cannes as winter resorts for the moneyed classes from northern Europe and England in particular. These luxury resorts have undergone considerable changes since World War II, as a new class of tourist has arisen with different tastes and more limited finances than the pre-war group. The new group consists mainly of working people, who have their vacations in the summer months, a fact which has changed Nice into a predominantly summer resort (Latouche: 1963, pp. 369-70). The rich have in turn joined the "jet set," who now seek the more exotic and distant shores of Acapulco or Tahiti. Nice and Cannes have lost their old glory and must now compete in the field of the new mass tourism not only with newer resorts on the French Mediterranean coast, especially in the Languedoc-Roussillon region, but with a host of others in neighboring countries. Between the war and 1955 the French Riviera had some competition from the Spanish Costa Brava and the Biarritz-San Sebastian area on the Bay of Biscay. During the period 1955-1965, however, new resorts began to appear in Corsica, on the Costa del Sol and the Costa Blanca in Spain, along the Italian Riviera di Ponente and di Levante, on the Adriatic coast north of Rimini, in the Naples-Capri area and in Sardinia, and on the Dalmatian coast of Yugoslavia. Since 1965 new developments have taken place on the Costa Dorada of Spain and on the Balearic Islands, especially Majorca, in Portugal on the Algarve coast and in the north, in Calabria and Sicily in Italy and on the Greek islands, including Corfu and Rhodes. A large number of new hotels have been built on the Yugoslav coast, while Morocco, Tunisia and Turkey have been investing in the development of several major new resorts. The rapid growth of the Black Sea resorts of Bulgaria and Romania also began during this period. During the last few years the European tourist agencies have added Madeira and the Canary Islands to their lists, especially for the wealthier winter tourists.

This move away from the traditional vacation of the past is a reflection not only of a search for exotic sunny shores, but also of the development of cheap air transportation, mainly organized on a charter basis. The lower costs of accommodations and food in many of the economically less developed regions on the fringes of the Mediterranean also make it possible for tourist agencies to offer attractive package vacations within the financial ability of many working-class families in northern Europe. Tourist organizations and agencies in many north European countries have organized hotels and other facilities in southern resorts for the exclusive use of their own nationals. For example, the Dutch have developed hotels in the Spanish resorts of Torremolinos and Benalmadena on the Costa del Sol and Dutch tourists arrive in large numbers by charter plane during the summer. Some have bought houses, apartments, or land in the area for vacation use or for retirement, and a small but growing Dutch colony is developing. These people are bringing a steady stream of foreign currency in exchange for services into a region which offers few alternatives for employment.

Most resorts owe their development to government activity and investment and the tourist industry is to a great extent nationalized. For example, the French gov-

* Readers may find Figure 7 useful in locating the various place names of European and Mediterranean resort areas.

Figure 7. Major Tourist Resorts of Europe and the Mediterranean.

ernment is involved in the development of six resorts in Languedoc to house two million tourists (Lavery: 1974, p. 193). Only a few individuals, such as Baron Edmond de Rothschild, who is aiding the development of a resort at Caesarea in Israel, and the Aga Khan, who is backing a resort in Sardinia, can afford the necessary investments (Simpson: 1968, p. 240, footnote 18). In the developing countries, in particular, investment in the tourist industry by the government is essential if any development is to take place at all and in some countries the development of tourist facilities stands very high on the list of investment priorities. As Christaller pointed out, it is precisely in the peripheral regions of Europe and in the underdeveloped countries that tourism has most to offer in terms of economic development (1964, pp. 95-103). It is in these regions that the greatest expansion of the "sun and fun" variety of mass tourism should be expected in the future.

A recent development of significance for the future of tourism in the Mediterranean and beyond is the development of organizations such as the "Club Méditerranée." The concept of this club is based somewhat on the holiday camp as devised by Butlin in Great Britain. The Butlin holiday camps, first started at Skegness in 1936, consist of villages of chalets, with communal restaurants and amusements, located near the sea. The keynote of the holiday camp, however, is organized entertainment and activities, whereas the Club Méditerranée, although using the village format, does not attempt to organize the vacations of its members to the same degree. The aim of its founder, the Belgian Gerard Blitz, is to create an atmosphere directly opposed to that of life in a large urban center. Life in the villages is informal and democracy is stressed, and sports form the major occupation of the guests.

The first village was started in 1949 on Majorca and at the moment there are over 75, stretching from Tahiti to Senegal, including villages in such diverse places as Egypt, Israel, Cuba, Spain, Morocco, Turkey, Hawaii, and Mexico. There are several winter sports resorts. The Club is trying to attract American tourists by developing bilingual villages where English is spoken along with French. About nine percent of the Club's one million members are North Americans. The Club Méditerranée is now a public company, with Baron Edmond de Rothschild and a company owned by Giovanni Agnelli of the Fiat corporation as major stockholders.

The village resorts of the Club Méditerranée are open to the same criticism as most other modern resorts which have appeared along the coasts of the developing countries; they are self-contained, isolated islands of middle-class European or American urbanites who have little contact with the local people. The Club does not encourage members to leave the premises of the resort except on conducted tours (Francke: 1976, p. 47).

Although long hours of sunshine and warmth are the basic ingredients for a successful seaside resort, another aspect of the physical environment, although independent of the climate, cannot be neglected. This is the quality of the beach. Such resorts as Copacabana, Palm Beach, Mamaia in Romania, Muizenberg in South Africa, and Montego Bay in Jamaica offer the combination of sunshine and fine sandy beaches. The sandy, dune-backed beaches of the Dutch and the Belgian coasts are good enough to offset the disadvantages of climate for the thousands of Germans from the Ruhr industrial region who invade them during the summer. In the British Isles the quality of the beaches varies from one resort to another and can be an important factor in attracting families with children, who are looking for a sandy beach where the children can dig and build sand castles and which has a gentle slope into a sea without dangerous currents.

The character and slope of the beach creates the necessary conditions for surfing, which has increased greatly in popularity in recent years. Although suitable conditions for the sport exist at locations in California, Hawaii, South Africa and other regions, the major area of development is in Australia. For example, a twenty-five mile stretch of coast south of Brisbane has been developed as a surfing and water sports area, known as the Goldcoast. This region, with Surfers Paradise as its center, now contains over 2,600 hotels and has begun to attract foreign tourists, including Japanese.

The nature of the coastline may be important in the development of resorts, apart from the presence or absence of good beaches. Boating and sailing have played a major role in the development of some coastal resorts and the existence of a sheltered bay or channel, the lack of reefs or rocks, and the presence of a good harbor, natural or otherwise, are favorable for the sport of sailing. The resort of Cowes on the Isle of Wight in southern England has the above features and has become a major center for international yachting. Marinas, which provide mooring, provisions, repairs, and in some cases overnight accommodations and other services for yachtsmen, are beginning to appear in increasing numbers along the coasts of many countries. Although sunshine and warmth make sailing more pleasant, warm temperatures are not as important for sailing as for swimming and many of the northern countries offer good conditions for the sport.

Pollution

A major problem which may have a limiting effect on the development of seaside resorts in the future is that of pollution, both of beaches and of the adjacent waters. Beach users are major polluters. Their litter is not only unsightly but creates hazards such as broken glass and tin cans which can cause injury to the feet of bathers. More serious, because less easy to control and to remove, is the pollution caused by oil spills from passing ships, either in the form of deliberate release of oil or because of an accident. Several serious oil spills along the coasts of the United States and the British Isles have received considerable publicity in recent years. Although the damage to sea birds and other fauna has been stressed, the threat to a resort beach from even a small spill can be serious.

The dumping of industrial waste, sewage, and garbage into the sea close to resort beaches can make swimming not only unpleasant but also dangerous to health by increasing the possibility of infectious diseases. It also

limits the possibility of safe recreational fishing in many coastal areas because of the danger of eating the polluted fish.

Some tourist countries are already seriously affected by pollution. Almost two-thirds of the beaches of Italy have been polluted to some degree by sewage and garbage. Some Eastern Mediterranean countries, such as Israel and Lebanon, also report that pollution is becoming a major problem facing the future development of their tourist industry. So far Greek, Yugoslav, and Turkish resorts have not yet encountered serious pollution, but they will have to exercise extreme caution to prevent the present situation from deteriorating. Pollution is also affecting inland waters. For example, in Switzerland no swimming is permitted on Lake Lugano, and some beaches have been closed on the shores of Lake Geneva.

Apart from environmental pollution, the seaside resort may suffer from what is often referred to as "visual pollution." Many of the nineteenth century resorts were built with taste and style and some modern resorts, such as the villages of the Club Méditerranée, make an attempt to blend with the local architectural styles and physical environment. However, many resorts are characterized by poorly designed and shoddily built hotels, restaurants, other recreational buildings, garish advertisements and signs, and a general lack of control of architectural style. Some Mediterranean coastal resorts consist of rows of apartments constructed en masse with cheap and rapid construction techniques. In some cases overcrowding has resulted in a second row of apartment blocks from which it is impossible to obtain a view of the sea. There is a sameness to many of these resorts which makes it difficult at times to know in which country one might be.

Winter Resorts

Although warm summer temperatures may be the major component of climate affecting the location of tourist development, cold winter temperatures are also important. Although the majority of people employed in a modern industrial society take their vacations during the summer there are more and more who find it possible to take some time off from their work in the winter. Some summer resorts keep hotels and facilities open for a clientele seeking relief from northern winters and who benefit from cheaper off-season rates both in accommodations and transportation. This is especially true of the more southerly resorts in North Africa, Madeira, and the Canary Islands. It was, in fact, the warm winters of the French Riviera which led to its early development as a tourist region. However, cold winter temperatures are more significant than warm ones in the development and location of modern winter tourism and the growth in popularity of winter sports is one of the most noteworthy developments of the tourist industry of the last few decades.

Of all the modern winter sports activities, skiing is by far the most popular. Skiing as a form of winter transportation has an ancient history, but as a sport it is of relatively recent vintage. Skating is an older sport, being popular in northern Europe, especially in Holland in the seventeenth century. The lack of long periods of freezing temperatures results in a rather limited skating season in England or Holland, but no major skating resorts were ever developed in countries with a more suitable climate. This was partly because of the relative unpopularity of skating as a modern sport and partly because of the development of the artificial indoor ice rink, which made skating a sport independent of climate. Skiing requires quite different physical conditions from skating. First of all, it is an outdoor sport and second, it requires a good snow cover and a mountainous or, at least, hilly terrain. The last item is not so necessary for cross-country skiing as practiced in the Nordic countries, a type of skiing which is becoming rapidly more popular in the Alpine countries and North America. However, few skiing resorts have been developed in areas which do not have a hill in the vicinity. Modern skiing as a mass sport developed in the Alps and Alpine-type downhill skiing still forms the model for the sport in most parts of the world.

The use of mountain regions as areas for recreation and tourism is of relatively recent origin. It was only in the eighteenth century that Europeans began to perceive mountains as anything but regions of danger and horror. Mountain climbing in the Alps began in the late eighteenth century and skiing was introduced from Norway by the English to the Swiss Alps in the 1890's. The development of the ski lift in the 1930's led not only to the rapid development of skiing for sport, but opened up the Alps to all forms of tourism. By giving access to higher slopes and glaciers it has enabled resorts such as Chamonix and Zermatt to develop a summer skiing season.

Because of differences in climate and terrain between the different mountain regions of Europe, conditions for developing winter sports vary considerably from region to region. The lack of sufficient snow for long periods makes much of the southern Alps unsuitable for skiing, although a few resorts have recently been developed in this region. Even in the northern Alps weather and snow conditions can be quite variable depending on the time of the year and the altitude. For this reason some resorts can offer guaranteed good conditions for skiing from Christmas until Easter, whereas others have a more restricted season. In the Norwegian mountains, on the other hand, snow conditions are more uniform from place to place throughout the winter, but the short daylight hours of the winter months along with the cold temperatures reduce the popularity of Norwegian resorts with the foreign tourist until the spring (Heller: 1969, pp. 60-61). Scotland has seen some commercial development of its winter sports facilities in recent years, but suffers from the variable weather associated with a west-coast marine climate, with a resultant uncertainty about snow and weather conditions at any given time in the winter (Perry: 1971, pp. 197-201). In fact, commercially organized skiing in Scotland is only really practical in the snow-filled corries and gullies of the major mountain ranges, such as the Grampians. Scottish skiing, however, attracts few tourists from outside Britain. Other mountain regions of Europe have varied

conditions for winter sport development. The Pyrenees have some centers, such as Bagnères de Luchon and Barèges on the French side, but in general the Pyrenees are not easily accessible from the main urbanized regions of Europe; and in the western Pyrenees the snow cover is uncertain (Ritter: 1966, pp. 227-28). In Eastern Europe the best conditions for skiing are found in the Carpathians, in particular in the Tatra mountains between Poland and Czechoslovakia. Some resorts in Romania and Yugoslavia attract some foreign visitors, but very few from the West.

North American skiing has so far attracted few foreigners, although the Laurentian region of Quebec and some other Canadian resorts attract U.S. tourists from the East and Midwest. The other continents have seen some development of their winter sports potential in recent years, but this is mainly of regional or national rather than international importance. In South America the ski resorts of the Andean region of Chile and Argentina have some potential to attract tourists from other Latin American countries.

Development of Winter Sports Resorts and Centers

It should be noted that suitable conditions of climate, snow, and terrain are not enough to guarantee the success of a particular location as a winter sports resort. Much capital must be invested in the form of hotels with central heating, ski lifts, snow plows to keep access roads clear, and special care for the ski slopes (Blanchard: 1958, p. 202). At some resorts snow-making machines are used to reinforce inadequate snow cover on the slopes or snow may even be brought in from areas where it is abundant. Besides, the prospect of good skiing is not enough to attract many people to a winter sports resort, and night clubs, restaurants, and bars are important features of most of the larger resorts. There are, however, two main types of winter sports bases: the village, with a self-contained life and transportation system, which can best be thought of as a "resort" and the much larger area, with ski lift stations far apart and linked by public transportation, which has more of the nature of a "center." A variant of the latter is the "created center," built from scratch on an empty mountain side (Heller: 1969, p. 49). The "created center" is found in its most extreme form in France and Italy, where small urban-type settlments with skyscrapers have been developed virtually in the wilderness. One of the most spectacular of these is La Plagne in the Tarantaise Valley of Savoie, with skyscraper apartment buildings, a shopping center with covered arcades, including boutiques with the latest fashions, and a central plaza where all the ski runs end. In Italy, Sestriere has been developed along the same lines. These "created centers" are more compact than some of the other large centers such as Davos and St. Moritz, but they are typical Latin developments in the sense that they are an attempt to reproduce an urban way of life in the wilds. In Austria and Switzerland the architecture of resorts and centers is more traditional and in keeping with the rest of the human landscape. Austria in particular encourages the natural growth of existing villages rather than the construction of new centers. In general the large center appeals to the tourist who wishes a sophisticated after-ski night life, and the smaller resort may appeal to the person who desires only good skiing.

Some winter sports resorts have been moving from the development of hotels as the main form of lodging for tourists to the construction of apartments and condominiums. In the United States complexes of condominiums have been built near major ski resorts in mountain states such as Colorado, but have not proved as popular as hoped. In some European ski resorts the richer clientele from the big cities often own their own apartments which they use themselves or rent to others.

Safety is one of the problems inherent in the development of new centers. Apart from the question of preventing accidents on the slopes, there is the much more serious problem of avalanches. Recent major tragedies, in the French Alps in particular, where avalanches overwhelmed ski resorts causing destruction of buildings and loss of life, have drawn attention to the lack of safety planning in locating new ski resorts and centers.

Earlier we mentioned cross-country skiing, which has recently become very popular in North America. Although ski touring and cross-country ski racing has been extremely popular for many years in Scandinavia, it was virtually unknown in North America and Alpine Europe until the early 1970's. Its main attractions are that equipment is considerably cheaper than for downhill skiing; it is good exercise in the fresh air in pleasant surroundings; it is not dangerous; and as long as there is some snow, it can be carried out on almost any type of terrain, including flat country. It is this last feature that makes cross-country skiing independent of resorts. It does not require ski lifts and prepared runs and as long as some accessible country can be found, the skier may not have to travel far from home. Cross-country skiing, thus, is much more important as a local form of recreation than as an attractor of foreign tourists. Downhill skiing still remains much more significant as a generator of international tourist traffic.

Some mention should be made of snowmobiling, a winter sport which has shown such rapid growth in North America recently. So far this sport has been confined mainly to the flat or slightly hilly regions of the northern United States and Canada. Apart from North America the only region where snowmobiling has seen some growth, principally as a means of transportation, is northern Scandinavia. It is not a sport which can be carried on effectively in mountainous areas, and being mechanized, requires considerable service facilities. It has become necessary to control the use of these potentially dangerous machines and special terrain and trails are being developed for their use. Damage to the environment and excessive noise are also problems which are difficult to control. Snowmobiling has not yet developed into a sport attracting foreign tourists in any number and it is doubtful if it will ever challenge skiing as a major international sport. It offers little as a form of exercise and requires little skill in return for a large financial expenditure on equipment.

Mountain regions do not always rely exclusively on their winter climate to attract visitors. Local people in

regions adjacent to mountainous areas use the mountains to escape the summer heat. Darjeeling and Simla in the Himalayas were developed as summer resorts for the British seeking relief from the summers of the plains, and the Blue Mountains of Australia and the Adirondacks and Catskill Mountains of New York State contain resorts serving the populations of the Sydney and New York metropolitan areas, respectively. Although these resorts were developed mainly to serve a regional population, in some cases they attract foreign tourists as well.

The importance of climatic factors in the location of tourism has much to do with the seasonal nature of tourism. The summer still remains the peak period of tourist activity and in industrial Europe and North America June, July, and August are the main vacation period. This is, of course, not only because the summer is the warmest period of the year, but because most persons are given their vacations from work at that time. In some countries, such as France, the Scandinavian countries and New Zealand, almost the entire nation takes its vacation during a one-month period in the summer, with a resultant strain on tourist and transportation facilities. As noted above, the tourist facilities which cater to summer tourism are often not the ones which serve the winter tourist. Thus, many tourist resorts have a short but intensive season. Winter tourism appeals mainly to the young and to the sportsman and even with the great rise of interest in winter sports it may never have the popularity of the more varied activities that can be carried on in summer. The winter season does not compete in intensity of tourist activity with the summer.

That the southern hemisphere experiences its seasons at the opposite time to those of the northern hemisphere might suggest the possibility of refugees from the northern winter seeking the sun south of the equator, but this difference in seasons has little influence on the pattern of world tourism at the moment (Zachinyayev and Fal'kovich: 1972, pp. 44-45).

The Attractions of the Landscape

Apart from climate and terrain, there are other aspects of the physical environment which are important in the development of tourism. In particular, the landscape or scenery of a region has much to do with its attraction for the tourist. The word "landscape" is used here in the sense of a tract of country considered as scenery. A seaside resort or a winter sports center adds to its attractions if the countryside around it creates a pleasant impression. The beauty of the Alps not only adds to the popularity of its winter sports resorts, but attracts many visitors to these same resorts during the summer months, when the excitement of skiing is replaced by the quieter pleasures of walking amid spectacular scenery. The growth of the popularity of the Dalmatian coast of Yugoslavia is due not only to the sun and the beaches but also to the rugged beauty of the coastal mountains. Many regions, which offer little in the way of good climate or exciting sports, have built up a tourist industry virtually on scenery alone. Such regions are the Scottish Highlands, the English Lake District, the Norwegian fjords, Iceland, and, to a lesser extent, the Rocky Mountains. Resorts have arisen in some of these regions which offer little else than scenery, such as Pitlochry in Scotland, Interlaken in Switzerland and Keswick in the Lake District.

Water plays an important role in forming an attractive landscape. The sea, lakes, and rivers not only add to the visual beauty of a region but also offer the possibilities of swimming, sailing, canoeing, and fishing. Hence, the popularity not only of the sea coast and other large bodies of water, such as the Great Lakes, the Lake of Geneva or Lake Balaton, but also of such regions as the Finnish lakes, the Scottish lochs, the Italian lakes, and the Andean lake district of Bariloche. Forest areas also have considerable attractions for relaxation and sport. In North America the development of state parks and wilderness areas has taken place largely in response to demand for forest scenery. In the case of wilderness areas there is the added attraction, at least for some people, of isolation and solitude combined with an element of "roughing it." For more information on the use and misuse of wilderness areas, see *Wilderness as Sacred Space*, by Linda H. Graber (1976).

Apart from the pleasures of viewing the scenery of a region in general, there are certain specific natural phenomena which may draw tourists, such as volcanoes, waterfalls, caves, and canyons. Examples are the Grand Canyon in the U.S., Vesuvius in Italy, Niagara Falls in the U.S. and Canada, Mammoth Caves in Kentucky, the geysers of Iceland and New Zealand, the Great Barrier Reef of Australia, or the Plitvice Lakes of northern Yugoslavia. Some of these phenomena, such as Niagara Falls or the Grand Canyon, are impressive enough to be a major attraction on their own, but in most cases they are visited in the course of a general tour. This is especially true if they are located in a region which also offers other features of interest to the tourist.

The particular fauna or flora of a region sometimes draw tourists. In Kenya and other countries of southern Africa wildlife safaris are rapidly increasing in popularity, the camera being substituted in most cases for the gun. Game reserves often provide accommodations and services for tourists. The Arctic and Antarctic regions attract a small but significant number of tourists to view the icy wastes, the polar bears, or the penguins. The Amazon, with its exotic rainforest vegetation and its wildlife, is also seeing an increase in its tourist trade. On a less exotic level, the tulip fields of Holland or cherry blossom time in Japan or Washington, D.C. are added attractions to the other sights.

Hunting and Fishing

Apart from the pleasure of viewing animals in their natural habitat, there is the added attraction for some people of hunting them. Although hunting remains basically a local sport, there are persons who are willing to pay for the privilege of shooting big game in Africa, bear, boar and chamois in the Caucasus, or grouse in Scotland. In particular the Soviet Union and other East European countries, such as Poland and Hungary, offer

hunting vacations to Western tourists who are willing to pay the high prices. The attraction is the possibility of shooting species of animals which have vanished or are in short supply in Western countries. For example, the Polish government permits a limited hunting of the European bison which at one time was almost extinct and is now increasing in numbers in a forest preserve in eastern Poland.

Fishing attracts tourists to both the sea and to inland waters. Again, fishing is primarily a local pastime, but several countries have developed it as a significant branch of tourism. In Europe countries such as Ireland, Scotland, and Norway attract foreigners to fish their salmon and trout rivers and streams, and many Americans travel to Canada for the pleasure of fishing in unspoiled waters and wild natural surroundings. River and lake fishing is limited primarily to the northern countries where physical conditions are conducive to the breeding of sport fish such as trout and salmon.

Sea fishing as a sport of international significance is located mainly in the tropics or sub-tropics. The deep-sea game fish, such as swordfish and tuna, are found in southern waters. Attempts to popularize shark fishing in northern waters have not proved very successful. Spear-fishing by divers equipped with snorkels or breathing apparatus is also a predominantly southern sport, but is confined to onshore waters and does not involve game fish.

Although hunting and fishing may constitute very important branches of a country's internal tourism, they have less significance as attractors of foreign tourists.

The physical attractions of a particular region may appeal to some persons and not to others. Attitudes may vary from individual to individual within a particular culture, depending on perception of an attractive place or environment in which to spend a vacation. Although the sea, and lakes or rivers are usually perceived as desirable features for vacation resorts, there are people who are not interested in the presence of water and who may even find it distasteful. The author has heard the view expressed that a seaside resort is only "half a place" because its hinterland is only half that of an inland resort. Some persons find a mountain landscape too confining and may even experience a type of claustrophobia in mountain valleys.

The perception of the attractiveness of places from the point of view of tourism has been little studied as a phenomenon. The work of Gould and White (1974) on the subject of mental maps suggests the possibility of constructing mental maps of a country, region or continent which would indicate the most desirable places for a vacation as perceived by the population of selected places or regions. In many cases these mental maps would not differ greatly from those which indicate preferences for areas for living and working. However, mental maps have generally been constructed on the basis of a single country, whereas mental maps for the purposes of international tourism would involve the perception of foreign areas and places. Gould and White touch on the theme of perception of residential desirability in Europe from the point of view of Swedes, West Germans and Italians (1974, pp. 181-86).

Although attitudes may vary from individual to individual within a particular culture, there are still clearly identifiable attitudes towards the natural environment which differ from culture to culture (Lowenthal: 1962-63, pp. 19-23). The seaside has a particular attraction for the British, partly because of their long association with the sea and partly because of its relative accessibility. The forests are particularly popular with the Swedes and Finns, who value the isolation of a forest cottage during the summer months. The love of northern nature among the Scandinavians is, however, balanced by a love of the southern sun, which sends them in large numbers to the south of Europe, if possible during the long, dark northern winter. The Italians and some other peoples of Latin culture have neither a particular admiration for untamed nature nor a desire for isolation, and prefer more sophisticated pleasures. Hence the urbanized nature of most Italian winter sports centers and the necessity of good restaurants and cafes in resorts catering to Italian tourists. Tourists from Moslem countries also have a perception of recreational attractions which are characteristically different from those of the inhabitants of other culture regions (Ritter, 1974). In spite of these differences in national attitudes, the modern tourist industry has by advertising created a mass demand for sun or snow which embraces the nationals of most countries of the industrialized West.

Spas and Health Resorts

One component of the physical environment which was once a major attractor of tourists, but which has a more limited significance, is mineralized water, found in springs or tapped by wells. By the seventeenth century people developed a widespread conviction of the medicinal value of various varieties of mineral waters, either for drinking or for bathing and began to visit such spas, the general name given to places where these waters occurred. As the name suggests, Spa in Belgium was one of the earliest of these medicinal watering-places, but the spa saw much early development in England. Bath and Tunbridge Wells became the most fashionable. The clientele of the spas can be numbered among the earliest tourists in Europe (Robinson: 1972, p. 383). On the continent certain spas became world-famous and attracted a rich and fashionable clientele from abroad, especially during the latter half of the nineteenth century. In general, spas also offered their clientele parks and gardens, concerts, theatrical performances, and other recreation, the quality of which helped to determine a spa's popularity. English and American spas in particular were more social than therapeutic (Lowenthal: 1962, p. 127).

With the development of modern methods of medical treatment and a lack of faith in the curative powers of mineral waters, the spas have ceased to attract the clientele of the past. This is particularly true in Great Britain and the United States, whereas in Central and Eastern Europe some spas still retain considerable popularity. For example, the Czech spa of Karlovy Vary (Karlsbad) still attracts a large number of tourists, not only from the Soviet bloc countries, but also from West Germany.

The Germans in particular retain a strong belief in the curative powers of mineral springs and Karlovy Vary offers a cheaper vacation than does a German spa. Pieštany in Slovakia treats rheumatic complaints with mud-baths and, strangely enough, has a large clientele from the Arab countries. The necessity of visiting spas to drink the water is offset to a great extent by the practice of bottling the waters and selling them cheaply to a wide public.

Along with the spa can be classed the sanatorium, which, although scarcely a tourist attraction, nevertheless uses a "healthy" climate to attract persons suffering from certain diseases, especially those of the lungs. The Alpine region, and Switzerland in particular, contains a large number of sanatoria specializing in the treatment of tuberculosis. These sanatoria achieved their greatest popularity among foreigners during the inter-war period, before the development of antibiotics. In recent years the necessity of sanatorium treatment has greatly diminished, although some sanatoria are used as convalescent homes or as health resorts for children. The sanatorium has ceased to be a major attractor of foreign visitors.

Urban Cultural and Historical Attractions

It is impossible to estimate with any accuracy the number of tourists who move from one country to another in response to the attractions of the physical environment alone. There are few countries which do not have some man-made attractions to offer the visitor, and in any decision to visit another country cultural factors have a certain influence. This influence may be the major one, as in the case of a person who visits a city to attend the theater or visit the art galleries, or marginal, as in the case of the visitor to a Spanish beach resort who attends a bullfight. In the case of a large number of tourists who simply want a couple of weeks on the beach in the sun, the choice of country is probably dictated by the cheapest package deal which they can get from a tourist agency. As already noted, the isolation of many resorts from the surrounding region and its population makes it immaterial to many tourists which country they are visiting. However, even the most isolated and self-contained resort usually arranges some cultural attractions for the tourist. For example, the resort of Mamaia on the Black Sea coast of Romania provides special plane and bus trips for its visitors to such places as Bucharest, the Danube Delta, and the monasteries of northern Moldavia.

Urban Tourism

Apart from the large numbers of tourists who travel abroad to find a natural environment which they do not have at home, there are many who visit other countries primarily because of their cultural attractions. Many of these tourists find what they are seeking in urban centers rather than in the countryside. These people form the basis of the important urban tourist industry.

It is difficult to itemize all the factors which attract people to certain cities. Apart from the buildings, churches, art galleries, museums, theaters, restaurants, and shops which individually or collectively interest and attract tourists, many cities have an individual character and atmosphere which transcend the mere sum of their buildings and other physical attractions. An obvious example is Paris. It is doubtful if the average tourist visits the city with the specific intention of seeing the Eiffel Tower or visiting the Louvre or the Folies Bergère. He does so because he wishes to experience the atmosphere and spirit of the legendary city, about which he has heard so much in song and story. The same is true to a certain degree of other world cities, such as London, Rome, Venice, New York, or Amsterdam. This atmosphere is difficult to define, being a combination of visual impressions based on pleasant or characteristic architecture, attractively laid-out streets or picturesque canals, along with restaurants and cafés serving good food and drink and also the life-style of the inhabitants. The organizations and agencies responsible for propagating urban tourism know the characteristics of these places well and their advertising stresses the atmosphere and the character of the city they wish to sell to the tourist.

From the viewpoint of tourism, cities can be divided into two major groups: old and modern. Old cities, such as Rome, Athens, Venice, or Jerusalem attract the tourist mainly with their ancient ruins, castles, classical architecture, palaces, museums, and art galleries, whereas modern cities, such as New York, Chicago, West Berlin, or Düsseldorf, offer modern architecture, theaters, department stores, boutiques, luxury hotels, restaurants, and night clubs. Of course, many old cities combine the attractions of old and new, such as Paris, Rome, London, or Amsterdam. These cities are the main centers of mass urban tourism. Many tourists not only visit these cities while on tour, but may regard a stay in one of them as their main tourist goal. Many visitors to France or Great Britain see little of these countries outside Paris or London, although the increased mobility of the modern tourist has resulted in shorter stays in more places in a given country.

Apart from the world cities of major interest to tourists, there are many smaller cities of historical or cultural interest, which are generally visited as part of a wider tour of a country or region. Such are York, Stratford-on-Avon, and Oxford in England, Edinburgh in Scotland, Bruges and Ghent in Belgium, Florence and Pisa in Italy, Granada in Spain, and Heidelberg in Germany, to name only a few. In some cases these towns are known for a particular feature of attraction, such as the Leaning Tower in Pisa, the Alhambra in Granada, or the Castle and Holyrood Palace in Edinburgh.

"Youth Tourism

An aspect of western urban tourism of recent origin is the so-called "youth" tourism. Although numbers of young people with packs, bundles, or suitcases can be found hitchhiking along most of the main highways of Europe, their goal is generally the city. Cities such as Paris, London, Copenhagen, and, above all, Amsterdam became the rallying-points for young people from many

countries, including the United States, during the 1960's. They formed the clientele for cheap hotels and hostels and in the summer slept in the parks and streets, local police permitting. In Amsterdam the Vondelpark was virtually turned into a dormitory for the young tourists in the summer months. Some countries attempted to restrict this "youth" tourism as it brought in little money and created problems, such as drug use and theft. In the case of Amsterdam, however, many conventional tourists came considerable distances to be shocked by the "hippies," who in themselves had become a tourist attraction.

This type of youth tourism has changed considerably in the 1970's. The hippies have been replaced largely by a more conventional type of young traveller who is less willing to sleep under a tree in a park, but who nevertheless is looking for cheap lodgings and restaurants and is willing to hitchhike. The travel agencies and transportation companies are aware of this market and have offered cheap air fares, special prices for passes on the European railroads, and other attractions. Special guidebooks on several countries have been written for young tourists with information on inexpensive eating-places, night-life, how to meet the opposite sex, and other useful hints.

A sub-category of cities with tourist attractions are the cities of the non-Western world, with their exotic architecture, food and customs. These are the Moslem cities of the Middle East and Africa, such as Tangier, Marrakesh, Tunis, or Istanbul, cities of the Far East, such as Tokyo, Hong Kong, or Bangkok, and cities of Latin America, such as Rio de Janeiro, Bogotá, or Mexico City. These cities may combine aspects of ancient and modern, but it is the exotic elements of these places that attract most Western tourists.

Some urban areas offer what are best described as "economic" attractions. These include such features as ports and harbors, airports and trade fairs, as well as interesting industries, such as automobile factories, salt mines, and breweries (Christaller: 1955, p. 3). In many port cities groups can take organized tours of the harbor by boat, and visits to large airports to watch the planes take off and land are a popular form of family recreation with many city people. These "economic" attractions are of little significance in international tourism, except for the trade fairs, such as the Leipziger Messe, which provides about the only reason for foreigners to visit that city. A few foreign tourists visit such places as Wieliczka salt mines near Cracow in Poland or the Chartreuse distilleries in France, but most of these visits are only incidents on a tour with other major objectives.

Religious Pilgrimages

Some urban centers have an ancient history as sites of objects of religious veneration and thus have become the object of pilgrimages. Classic examples for the Christian world are the tombs of the Apostles at Rome, the relics of the Three Kings at Cologne, Germany, the tomb of St. James at Santiago de Compostela in Spain, the tomb of St. Thomas in Canterbury, England, the house of the Virgin at Loreto in Italy, and the highest goal of all medieval Christians, the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Of these, only Rome and the Holy Land still attract pilgrims from abroad in any numbers. Of much greater significance in terms of modern religious tourism are the shrines of more recent origin, such as Fatima in Portugal and Lourdes in France. The latter shrine is the supreme example of an object of religious veneration forming the basis of a major tourist industry. Special trains bring the sick and the faithful from all over Europe and their needs are catered to by many hotels, boarding houses, hospitals and nursing homes, restaurants, and shops selling religious souvenirs. Numerous Americans visit Lourdes and Fatima on organized trips.

The Moslem world has several places of religious pilgrimage, such as the mosque in Kairouan in Tunisia and the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, but these are overshadowed by the great pilgrimage of *hajj* to Mecca. Large numbers of pilgrims still visit Mecca annually, coming not only from the Middle East and North Africa but from Pakistan, Bangladesh, Malaysia, and Indonesia. The pilgrims travel in ships, often highly overcrowded, to the Red Sea port of Jidda, which is connected by rail with Mecca, or by charter plane directly to Mecca. For the average pilgrim, accommodations in Mecca are primitive, consisting usually of a tent in a large camp, although in recent years the Saudi Arabian government has improved accommodations and services in the city. The places of pilgrimage of other religions, such as Banaras for the Hindus, or the Buddha's footprint in Ceylon for the Buddhists, have little significance as centers for international tourism.

Rural Historical and Cultural Attractions

Apart from buildings of historical interest in urban areas, either because of their architecture or their connection with historical characters or events, there are many places in the country with historical associations. Chief among these are castles, palaces, abbeys, monasteries, and country houses, either of architectural interest or associated with a particular person, family or period. Examples are the French chateaux of the Loire Valley, Malmaison near Paris, with its relics of Napoleon, the castle of Chillon in Switzerland, immortalized by Byron, and the many palaces and country houses open to the public in the British Isles. In order to add to the attractions of country houses with no particular historical significance and to pay for the expenses of their upkeep, many of their owners have devised added entertainments for the visitors. The Marquis of Beaulieu has opened a zoo and a museum of old cars on his estate in Hampshire, U. K., while other country houses offer medieval style dinners or tea with the duke.

Apart from buildings and estates there are other places of historical importance in the countryside. Battlefields, such as Waterloo (Belgium), Verdun and the Somme (France), and Gettysburg (U.S.), and the military cemeteries associated with them are of interest to many tourists, especially those with family connections in the case of more recent battles. The sites of concentration camps from World War II still receive many vis-

itors. Oswięcim (Auschwitz) near Cracow is still of major interest to tourists visiting Poland.

In the developing countries the major historical tourist attractions are mainly the ruins of ancient civilizations, such as the Pyramids and Sphinx of Egypt, Angkor Wat in Cambodia, Borobodur in Java, Machu Picchu in Peru, or Palmyra in Syria. A lack of knowledge of the more recent histories of the countries of Asia and Africa limits the interest of the American or European tourist in more modern monuments and relics.

Just as a beautiful natural landscape may please the tourist, so may a cultural one. Part of the attraction of the Alps lies in the contrast between wild nature and the cozy, comfortable villages of the inhabitants. The highly artificial, well-organized landscapes of the polderlands of the Netherlands or the rice-lands of the Far East have a charm of their own, while many picturesque villages in the British Isles, such as those of the Cotswolds or Devon, are in themselves objects of tourism.

"Ethnic" Tourism

Some rural areas offer what might be described as "ethnic" attractions, such as a colorful folk-life, native costumes, house-types, customs, regional foods and drink, fiestas, and wine festivals. In Europe many folk costumes and customs are maintained specially for the tourist, and folkloric events, such as dance or song festivals, are purposely organized to attract visitors, although in some cases the local people are genuinely interested in their own folklore. Much of this rural culture has been transferred to the city and many East European countries in particular maintain dance groups, choirs, and folk orchestras in the major cities to entertain the foreign tourists. In Asia, Africa, and Latin America, where an active folk-life still exists in the rural areas of many countries, this artificial stimulus is not so necessary. In North America about the only areas with genuine ethnic attractions are the Southwest, with its Indian and Mexican population, and French Canada. Other ethnic attractions, such as offered by German, Dutch, or Swiss communities in the Northeast and Midwest may be artificial and some are not even authentic.

Another type of "ethnic" tourism consists of the return of people to the country of their origin. Much of the flow of American tourists to Ireland is made up of immigrants and other persons of Irish origin paying a nostalgic visit to the old country. Immigrant societies organize charter flights for their members to a number of countries, including the countries of Eastern Europe. In recent years even the Soviet Union has organized tours of the Ukraine and the Baltic States designed to attract persons originally from these regions or with family connections there.

Sporting Events

Major sporting events such as the Olympic Games or, to a lesser degree, the Wimbledon tennis championships or international soccer matches, attract visitors who may also spend some extra time in the country for sightseeing. However, the proximity of the site of the event to major regions of tourist origin will influence the number of visitors. For example, the Winter Olympics at Sapporo in northern Japan were too distant to attract a large number of European tourists.

Artificially Created Attractions

Some mention should be made of the artificially created attractions of such institutions as Disneyland in California and Disney World in Florida. These amusement centers, which have proved to be prime attractions for foreign visitors to the United States, including heads of state, are an elaboration on the traditional urban amusement park, such as the old Vauxhall Gardens in London or Tivoli in Copenhagen, with a suggestion of the open-air museum, such as Skansen in Stockholm or Greenfield Village in Detroit. The Disney creations are, however, highly artificial in that all their indoor and outdoor exhibits and amusements rely little on the physical and cultural features of the areas where they have been developed, except that the sites have been located in areas with a good climate all the year round. Disneyland and its counterparts, including some of the "Western" towns inhabited by "cowboys" which one finds scattered throughout the Midwest and West of the United States, are a new development in the tourist field, in that they can create a major tourist attraction in an area which has virtually no physical or cultural features of note.

A less desirable, but nevertheless important aspect of tourism must not be overlooked. This is the number of establishments often found in frontier areas devoted to gambling, drinking, prostitution or the sale of goods or services unobtainable or more expensive in the neighboring country. In North America this situation not only exists between the United States on one hand and Canada and Mexico on the other, but between the states themselves. Examples are the gambling casinos of Reno and Las Vegas, Nevada, the bars along the state lines which attract minors from one state who are of legal drinking age in the next state, and the supermarkets of northern Illinois which sell margarine to Wisconsin housewives who cannot buy it legally in their own state.

On the international level the red-light districts of such towns as Tijuana, Ciudad Juarez, Nuevo Laredo, and others just over the Mexican border are said to bring in an annual revenue of $900 million, or 60 percent of Mexico's tourist revenue, and attract some 90 million Americans (Young: 1973, p. 122). These figures are probably exaggerated as it must be difficult to distinguish this type of tourist from the many other Americans who cross the border for more innocent pleasures. Besides, statistics for visitors to Mexico by car are not accurate. The phenomenon of "frontier prostitution" exists also along the Belgian side of the Belgian-Dutch border, where a number of red-light cafés cater to the Dutch from the towns of the southern Netherlands. A strange twist to this situation is the existence of the large number of sex-shops and pornographic bookstores which have been opened in towns on the Dutch side of the border to cater to Belgian tourists. This type of

tourist traffic is generally the result of differences in national or local laws or sometimes in national attitudes and customs.

Crossing a national frontier to get cheaper drink or food or to be free of legal restrictions on drinking hours is an important factor in a limited number of cases. One example in North America is the small detached fragment of the state of Washington known as Point Roberts, which is located at the end of a small peninsula south of Vancouver in British Columbia. This two-mile long, three-mile wide strip of U.S. territory has some 200 inhabitants, but over one and a half million Canadians a year visit it. The reason is that dancing is not permitted in bars in British Columbia and they are closed on Sundays. A couple of the largest bars in the United States are located in Point Roberts, offering dancing every night to well-known bands. On a larger scale, this type of tourism exists between England and some of the French and Belgian channel ports, such as Calais, Boulogne, and Ostend, where tourists from Dover and other southern English towns on cheap day or other short-period trips can drink inexpensive drinks all day and night, generally starting on the boat, where drinks are free of the high British taxes on liquor, wine, and beer. This type of "alcoholic tourism" has very questionable value. It generally attracts the worst type of tourist and often results in drunkenness, disturbance of the peace, and even violence or vandalism, and alienates the local inhabitants, whose opinion of a particular nation may be formed from the tourists which they encounter.

A more innocuous form of border tourist is the shopper who wishes to take advantage of cheaper prices in a foreign country. An example is Calexico, California, which attracts shoppers from Mexicali in Mexico. In 1974 the stores of the town, which has a population of 13,000, had total receipts of $54 million. Every day some 50,000 Mexicans cross the border to buy eggs, meat, and groceries because of their better quality and lower price. Mexican peddlers from the rural areas come by train and bus to Mexicali, cross the border to shop for goods which they later sell back in their local villages. On a broader front, the same phenomenon can be seen in border areas in Europe. For example, Trieste in Italy attracts shoppers from Yugoslavia. New tariff agreements between West European countries have limited this type of tourism in recent years.

Other Factors of Attraction or Repulsion

Apart from the major physical and cultural factors which attract tourists to a particular country or region there are a few minor, but nevertheless important, ones which should be mentioned. One of these is the economic level of development of the country to be visited. Low prices compared with those of the country of origin or with those of competing tourist countries may be a strong attraction for tourists. For example, the very low level of the Argentinian peso compared with the U.S. dollar during 1975 and 1976 has attracted a large number of tourists from surrounding Latin American countries who enjoy a cheap vacation and return laden with goods bought in Argentina. In Europe, many people choose Austria for a winter vacation because of the relatively low level of prices compared with West Germany and Switzerland. The lower prices of the East European countries also partially account for their increasing popularity with West European and American tourists. The drop in the value of the British pound has made Britain an attractive country for foreign visitors.

However, a low level of prices may reflect a low standard of living, and this in turn may be associated in many people's minds with poor food, unsafe drinking water, a lack of hygiene in restaurants, or dirty bed linen. It must be admitted that in some cases this association is true, and many a person's vacation has been ruined by intestinal disorders or even serious illness. The fact that many of the developing countries which are trying to attract tourists are located in the tropics means that disease can be a serious hazard and many tourists are not keen to visit a country for which innoculations against various diseases are necessary. This problem has been partially overcome in some areas by the developing self-contained resorts, where the developer can exercise some control over hygiene, food preparation, and laundry.

The general standard of tourist services is also important. If hotels are badly built, faucets do not work, hot water is not available, roads are bad, and gasoline stations few, the news spreads by word of mouth or through travel articles in newspapers. Potential visitors may decide that the physical attractions of the place may not be sufficient to outweigh these other factors. In other words, factors of repulsion may be as important in some cases as factors of attraction in explaining tourist flows.

VI. GEOGRAPHY OF INTERNATIONAL TOURISM AS AN APPLIED FIELD

International tourism is a developing, economic activity which offers much scope for practical research work and other contributions by geographers. The potential scope of this research is virtually unlimited and ranges from the study and planning of the location of individual tourist facilities up to the analysis of international tourist flows. The geographer can thus join the ranks of the economists and others who are contributing at different levels to the planning and development of all aspects of the tourist industry.

The geographer can contribute at the business, government, or academic levels. It is perhaps at the business level that the geographer has played the smallest role up to now. This is surprising, as the geographer has much to offer tourist organizations and travel firms. A major task for the business-oriented geographer is to assess the potentialities of new tourist areas or developments. With the geographer's knowledge of the environment, population characteristics, culture, and economic development of a given country or region, along with the geographer's ability to synthesize the various factors which make a region attractive or unattractive for tourist development, the geographer is well equipped to handle this type of problem.

Another task suitable for geographers is to analyze shifts in tourist flows and to predict future trends. Changing factors, such as rising fuel prices, inflation, economic recession, and changing exchange rates must be considered along with the other geographical and economic factors which generate or inhibit tourist flows.

On a local level the geographer can play a useful role in planning the location of new resorts, hotels, accommodations, and other services. In many cases these facilities have been poorly located because of a lack of understanding of spatial elements such as the environment, the proximity to major tourist routes, the proximity of other tourist facilities, and others.

The work of the geographer in government planning for international tourism usually takes place at a different level from that of the geographer in business. The geographer in government is most likely to be working in an agency for the stimulation of planning and tourism at a national or regional level. If a government sees tourism as a desirable industry for development, it may invest considerable money in subsidizing tourist facilities and in employing a substantial number of planners, economists, and others on research and development. The geographer is most likely to be employed to assess the tourist potential of a country or region, to analyze present and to project future tourist flows to the country, to plan transport facilities, to assess the environmental impact of tourism, and to study the locational factors in the planning of tourist facilities developed by the government.

The Training of Geographers in the Field of International Tourism

At the academic level the task of the geographer is to train students in the field of the geography of international tourism and associated subjects. The following courses are suggested as suitable for a geographer specializing in this field: (1) general physical geography, with special attention to climate, (2) general economic geography, with special emphasis on transportation and regional development, (3) cultural geography, with special attention to the cultural landscapes of the world, both urban and rural, (4) the geography of world regions, (5) quantitative methods in human geography, with the study of models and computer programs appropriate to the analysis of tourist flows and regional development, (6) cartography, and (7) aerial photo interpretation. Apart from these geography courses, the geographer should also take work in economics. In particular, a course on the economics of tourism, if available, or the economics of transportation would be most useful. Besides, some selected courses in the history of major world regions, such as Europe or Latin America, the history of architecture or art, landscape architecture or planning would be of value. The study of a major world language is also desirable. Some universities offer courses on tourism, usually under the aegis of the college of business, and it may be possible for a geography major to take a minor in tourism or in business.

Sources of Statistical Information

One of the most encouraging features of the study of international tourism is the large amount of data available. Not only do most countries publish annual figures of persons entering and leaving the country, but in many cases also give the country of origin, purpose of the visit and the form of transportation used. Data are also published on the number of nights spent by tourists and the type of accommodation used. Statistics of money spent by tourists are also generally obtainable. In a few cases information on socio-occupational groups and on income groups of persons taking a vacation is also available. In some countries the above categories of information are published for regional and local units. In other words, statistics of tourism are available under the three

major categories of volume, expenditure, and characteristics (Burkart and Medlik: 1974, p. 74).

The most important general source of statistics for international tourism is *International Travel Statistics*, published annually by the International Union of Official Travel Organizations in Geneva, Switzerland. Another useful source of data is *Tourism Policy and International Tourism in OECD Member Countries*, published annually by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development in Paris. This publication gives statistical information for most of the West European countries, Yugoslavia, Japan, the United States, Canada, and Australia.

Apart from statistical yearbooks, there is the *International Tourist Quarterly*, published in London by the Economist Intelligence Unit. This journal not only provides up-to-date statistical information on various aspects of tourism, but presents a series of "National Reports" which cover the tourism of a given country in considerable depth. A good example is National Report No. 23 on Ireland (Economist Intelligence Unit: 1975, pp. 23-49). Much of the information contained in this journal can be valuable to the geographer. Another journal of interest to geographers is the *Zeitschrift für Fremdenverkehr/Revue de Tourisme*, published in Bern, Switzerland. It contains articles, often in English, on the methodology of tourist research as well as reports on tourism in various countries.

Several bibliographies of tourist literature exist. The most comprehensive is the series published by the Centre d'Etudes du Tourisme at the Université d'Aix-Marseilles. A bibliography of the geography of tourism has been compiled by Peter Mariot (1968). It contains references to many of the basic works in the field up to the mid 1960's. Other regional bibliographies have been published, such as Mings' bibliography of tourism in Latin America (1974). References to articles on tourist geography can also be found under "Tourism" in *Current Geographical Publications*, published by the American Geographical Society, and in *Geoabstracts*, series C (Economic Geography), published six times a year in Britain.

Techniques for the Tourist Geographer

We have already discussed the use of models in the development of a spatial theory of international tourism. Several of these models may be adapted to the investigation of specific empirical problems. In particular the gravity model has considerable potential for use in the study of tourist flows at both the national and international level (Crampon: 1966, and Malamud: 1973). Tourist demand can be predicted successfully by the computer systems simulation approach as demonstrated by recreational geographers (Chubb: 1969). A number of studies utilizing a variety of models and techniques has been carried out in the field of recreational geography, some of which are applicable to research in international tourism.

A method of studying the landscape from the point of view of tourism is described by Peter Mariot. He discusses what he calls the "factors of the potential of the landscape" under the headings of the morphology of the terrain, the climate, the hydrological elements, flora and fauna, cultural-historical features, accessibility and the equipment of the region for various forms of tourism (Mariot: 1969*a*, pp. 59-62). After having drawn up an inventory of the above elements, the geographer should undertake a typological analysis of them. For example, morphological features should be categorized by the attractiveness of their elements and forms from the point of view of tourism and water bodies by their suitability for recreational purposes. Finally, all this information should be plotted on one map and a number of regions identified on the basis of the constituent landscape elements. One can then identify areas with features suitable for winter sports, summer recreation, water sports, cultural tourism, and others and can study the interaction links between them. This synthesis is seen as a valuable and practical approach to a little discussed problem and the author has applied it in a study of the tourist region of western Slovakia (Mariot: 1969*b*, pp. 63-70).

Geographers should also be familiar with the construction of questionnaires, techniques of sampling, and the interpretation of research surveys. In some countries visitors are asked to fill in questionnaires left in their hotel rooms or may be interviewed on arrival or departure at an airport or border crossing point. Such surveys may be designed to illuminate certain aspects of tourist movements, ascertain factors of attraction, and other information not obtainable from the basic data on border crossings and nights spent in a given country.

The geographer should play a major role in the design and production of tourist maps of various types. At present many countries publish a variety of tourist maps, ranging from small-scale highway or railroad maps covering the whole country to large-scale maps of tourist regions, such as national parks, mountain regions, and cities. Special maps are published for hunters, winter sports enthusiasts, climbers, art lovers, and gourmets, that are often pictorial or decorative in nature. This is an obvious field for geographers. Many maps are well-produced, clear and informative, but often turn out to be less than adequate for practical use. Apart from the design of maps to be used by tourists, cartographic skills can be used to develop maps for studying tourist flows, locating tourist facilities, planning resorts, and studying the natural environment, as well as for other purposes. A knowledge of the techniques of aerial photo interpretation would also be valuable for the geographer involved in resort planning, where information on local landforms, vegetation, types of beaches, water bodies, terrain suitable for skiing, and human settlement patterns is required.

A good example of how maps and diagrams can illustrate and clarify the evolution and planning of tourism is contained in the work of an African geographer on tourism in East Africa (Ouma: 1970). Ouma has a general map showing attractions, facilities, and amenities in Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda, such as game areas (including national parks), the transportation network (including airfields), amenities (hotels and safari lodges),

scenery (including mountains, cliffs and escarpments), and bird watching and sport fishing areas. Another map shows the major tourist regions of East Africa by twelve categories. The scale used runs from Ia, high potential and highly developed, to IVe, negligible potential and undeveloped. The Roman numerals indicate the degree of potential, while the letters refer to degree of development. A third map shows means of arrival, distribution of hotel beds, and density of visitors for the region. Means of arrival are indicated by arrows proportionate to the number of visitors, with type of transportation shown by the shading of the arrows. Available beds are shown by proportional circles with the average percentage of bed occupancy shown by shading a segment of the circle. Tourist density at major attractions is shown by shaded patterns indicating all visitors recorded per year. Ouma also uses maps showing antiquities and historical sites in East Africa and regional maps showing streams stocked with trout. His diagrams and graphs show number of tourists entering the region since the 1930's, with an explanation of the reasons for periodic drops in volume as well as a projection to 1980, and the distribution of sources of tourists to the three countries as well as the fluctuations in the flows of these different national groups over time.

Geographers can compile and edit travel books and guidebooks for the general public. Although the level of information contained in such books may be elementary, many are written by incompetent authors with no geographical training and contain inaccurate or dated material. A good example of a well-produced guidebook can be found in almost any volume of *Guides Michelin*, which appear in French and English and cover the regions of France, many European countries, and the city of New York. The guide to the French Alps, for example, contains introductory sections on regional geomorphology, vegetation, traditional life, history, and the development of water power. The guide has lavish illustrations: maps, town plans, regional house types and architectural features, species of trees and flowers, and panoramas of mountain chains for identifying peaks. A short bibliography lists several geographical works on the Alps.

The classic example of the well-written guidebook is the series produced by Karl Baedeker in the late 1890's and early 1900's. The town plans and other maps contained in this series have rarely been surpassed in quality. The 1914 Baedeker guide to Russia is still the best that has ever been produced for that country and has recently been reprinted.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

The field of international tourism is a dynamic one. Some trends and developments mentioned in this paper may well have changed within a short time of its publication and it is difficult to predict what these changes will be. The impact of rising petroleum prices and of periodic fuel crises on the costs of travel has had an obvious effect on the numbers of persons travelling, the distances they travel, and the mode of transportation which they use. The general phenomenon of rising prices, along with the unstable situation of currency exchange rates, have affected not only the numbers of persons travelling, but their choice of country of destination. Economic recession in the western countries has also taken its toll, although to a lesser degree than might be imagined. It is difficult to predict what the trends will be over the next few years, especially if another major oil crisis should develop.

Apart from the uncertainties of the economic future, there is some doubt as to the possible impact of political trends and events on the future of world tourism. It is difficult to assess whether tourist flows between the capitalist and communist countries will increase or decrease. On one hand, the communist countries can offer relatively inexpensive vacations and are eager to earn hard currency; on the other hand they are wary of too many contacts between their citizens and tourists from the West. They are also in many cases unwilling to let their citizens travel outside of the countries of the communist bloc. Trends are thus difficult to predict.

At present, the attitude of some of the developing countries towards tourism is also ambivalent, although the attractions of a tourist industry seem in general to outweigh the disadvantages. A more likely factor influencing the development of tourism in the developing countries will be the availability of capital and the development of an infrastructure capable of handling increased numbers of tourists.

Even with the possibility of future ups and downs in the economic health of international tourism there is no doubt that tourism will continue to be a major world industry. It can be argued that, with the possibility of shifts and changes in the direction and strength of tourist flows in the future, the geographer has potentially an even greater role to play in its organization and planning. In a dynamic situation the prediction of tourist flows, the assessment of the pros and cons of new tourist development and investment, the opening up of new tourist regions, the location of resorts, and other aspects of tourist development require the type of training and skills which the geographer is well equipped to provide. The study of international tourism promises to be a field of great potential for geographical analysis and deserves increased attention from North American geographers.

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